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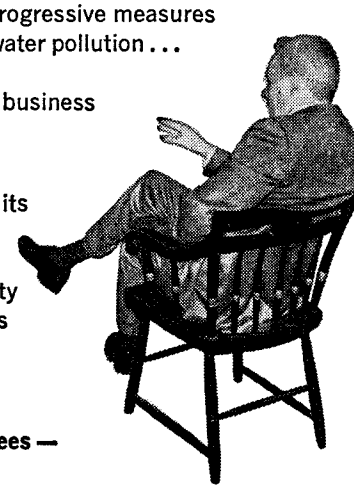

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Antonin Artaud who conceived and inaugurated the Theater of Cruelty has been written about as a man and as a clinical case, but this is the first book to explore his ideas, their sources, and the extent to which he implemented them in his own plays. This full-length study will be essential reading for all scholars interested in modern French literature and the evolution of twentieth-century drama, and for the many devotees of *avant-garde* theater.

1968 LC:68-15932 150 pages, $6.50

Richard Wagner's Visit to Rossini (Paris) 1860 and An Evening at Rossini's in Beau-Séjour (Passy) 1858

Edmond Michotte

Weinstock, the renowned music critic and biographer, provides invaluable firsthand materials on a crucial period of transition in the history of opera and music. His complete annotated translations of pamphlets by Michotte, a friend of both Rossini and Wagner, give charming insights into the characters of both men. Subjects discussed range from Wagner's theory of what opera should become to Rossini's hypothesis regarding the decline in the quality of singing in the 19th century and his recollections of Beethoven, Weber, and Mendelssohn. *Translated from the French and annotated, with an introduction and appendix, by Herbert Weinstock.*

1968 LC:68-16706 160 pages, illustrated, $7.50

Melodrama Unveiled

American Theater and Culture, 1800-1850

David Grimsted

Taking melodrama seriously is not easy but Grimsted does it—on its own terms—by asking why such bad plays were so popular for so long. The answer lies in the social and intellectual context of the day when a new nation, belligerently democratic, had its confidence bolstered by being told that if a man's heart was pure he was as wise as any sage and as good as any ruler. This is not only excellent social history but an entertaining study of an era of truly living theater.

1968 LC:68-15575 353 pages, illus., $8.95

Redeemer Nation

The Idea of America's Millennial Role

Ernest Lee Tuveson

"America had the infinite privilege of fulfilling her destiny and saving the world," said Woodrow Wilson. The idea of America's redemptive mission—perceptible even today—has been present since the Republic began. Tuveson attributes it to the belief held by the early Protestant settlers that the City of God was realizable on earth. He quotes from the writings of historians, preachers, poets, and theologians to illustrate how the idea gained momentum.

1968 LC:68-14009 256 pages, $6.75

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Introduction to Tolstoy's Writings

Ernest J. Simmons

This compact book describes, explains and criticizes all those works of Tolstoy which have had enduring significance. Mr. Simmons shows how Tolstoy's writings on education, religion, social, political, and moral problems are part of his total literary experience and interact upon his fiction and plays. Ideal for any student making a first approach to Tolstoy's voluminous works, the book is also a perfect complement to Simmons' definitive biography, *Leo Tolstoy*.

1968 LC:67-30427 219 pages, $5.50

Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism

A Study of Dostoevsky in Relation to Balzac, Dickens, and Gogol

Donald Fanger

This analysis of Dostoevsky places his development within its literary and historical context by defining a major chapter in the history of nineteenth-century realism. ". . . a satisfying and continuously intelligent work . . . individual writers are illumined; and 'romantic realism' is changed by the weight of their example from a casual paradox to an authentic technical term."—Geoffrey Hartman, *Studies in English Literature*. "A highly intelligent presentation of Dostoevsky as a romantic realist."—Robert L. Belknap, *Slavic Review*.

1965 LC:13841 307 pages, Paper, $2.45

Major Trends in Modern Hebrew Fiction

Isaiah Rabinovich

Translated by M. Roston

This historical and critical account of modern Hebrew fiction surveys the work of twelve representative Hebrew writers. Beginning with the naturalistic writings of Mendelé Mokher Sefarim, the author follows the development of this literature to the late 1940's, when Hebrew fiction achieved its full height with the epic modernism of Haiyim Hazaz and S. Y. Agnon. Other writers discussed are I. L. Peretz, Shalom Aleikhem, Mordekhai Ze'ev Feierberg, Uri Nissan Gnessin, Yosef Haiyim Brenner, Hillel Zeitlin, Gershon Shoffman, Mikha Yosef Berdichevsky, and Itzhak Dov Berkovitz.

1968 LC:68-15035 349 pages, $7.50

Mark Twain Abroad

The Cruise of the "Quaker City."

Dewey Ganzel

The world's first luxury cruise had Mark Twain on board, as correspondent for the *San Francisco Alta California*, and it was from this trip that he gathered material for *The Innocents Abroad*. Mr. Ganzel has reconstructed, in a manner truly worthy of Mark Twain, the actual voyage with its assortment of passengers and hilarious mishaps. He has used correspondence, newspapers accounts, the captain's log, and Clemens' unpublished manuscripts, particularly his notebook diary.

1968 LC:68-16691 336 pages, illus., $6.95

University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637

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If You Don't Mind My Saying So. . . . .

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

By now it may be necessary to remind readers that Twiggy was a cockney model who became a fashion sensation because all the secondary sexual characteristics of the female were totally lacking. In the comments made by Marshall McLuhan as his contribution to a TV special devoted to her, the philosopher compared Twiggy to a poem by T. S. Eliot, because (if I really did understand him) in both cases there is so little actually there that those who read the one or contemplate the other are encouraged to "participate" by calling upon their own imaginations to add substance to the poem or the female.

This may seem a bit farfetched and is certainly not much of a compliment to Eliot whose admirers are more likely to maintain that the distinguishing characteristic of his verse is that there is such a lot crowded into it. But there is no doubt that Twiggy was a non- or anti-woman to go along with the anti-hero, the anti-novel, the anti-play, nonrepresentational art, atonal music, and what André Malraux (presumably just to be in fashion) calls his anti-memoirs. The distinguishing characteristic of all of these is not some positive quality but the fact that something has been left out.

This fashion has also invaded Fashion. A year or two ago the great novelty was the topless this and topless that. Now the miniskirt is, of course, halfway to becoming a non-skirt. When it has reached its entelechy and is then designed to accompany a topless blouse, the anti-costume will be complete and just right for the non-woman reading anti-novels, looking at nonrepresentational pictures, and listening to atonal music. Today it seems that the creator has become an anti-creator and that his greatest achievement is to discover how he can leave out something that has never been left out before. It comes as no surprise that the adman has joined the trend. It used to be "Something new has been added," but now it's "Libby's puts 20 percent less sugar in its pineapple." And, of course, it's a well-recognized fact that the more vermouth you leave out of a Martini the better it is.

Forty years ago a young French painter at the Dome told me that Matisse was the greatest modern painter because of the number of things he had been able to leave out. Then he added enthusiastically, "If he had left out one thing more, there wouldn't be any picture at all." We have come a long way since then, although it seems to me that *something* has to be left in, and I should think that a non-woman in a non-dress would be pretty uninteresting.

From this, I might go on to discuss the proposed Kennedy Memorial as a fine example of non-architecture and the work of a recently deceased painter as non-painting. He was admiringly described in obituaries as having gradually abandoned all colors, used only blacks of varying intensity, and boasted that his were the very last pictures that anybody would ever be able to paint. But since the only thing that I can claim to have left out of the present installment is continuity, I will pass immediately to something totally irrelevant.

I have always said that I preferred pluralism, the balance of power, and the "inner-contradictions of capitalism" to the logical

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consistency and monolithic organization of the communists or fascists. Sometimes it may even be permissible to keep the left hand unaware of what the right hand is doing. But if the newspapers are to be trusted, our own government is going a bit far in some of these directions. Just after the Surgeon General's office had issued a strong statement denouncing cigarettes as a hazard to health, the Department of Agriculture confessed to having allotted $106,000 to Warner Brothers for the production of a film to be called *The World of Pleasure*. It was to have been shown in thirteen foreign countries, ostensibly as a travel picture, but all the happy travelers are great smokers and the hope of the Department was that this soft sell would help us dispose of our tobacco crop in foreign markets.

Cigarette smoking is, to be sure, a part of the American way which we are bent on teaching all backward peoples. But at the moment we are also a little inclined to believe that, for Americans themselves, this is one of the less desirable features of our way. I can only conclude that we decided to accept the spirit of an updated version of Deuteronomy (14:21). We made it read, "Thou shalt not smoke the filthy weed thyself, but thou shall sell it to the stranger beyond thy gates for thou art a people apart." (If you don't know this in the King James Version, please look it up.)

The fact that the film is actually propaganda was to be concealed from its victims, because, so we are told, the Department of Agriculture felt that the propaganda would be more effective if the victims did not know what it was. Somehow I am reminded of a story about a crook who was asked by the judge if he was not ashamed to cheat those who trusted him. "But, Judge, who else can you cheat?"

From Reed Whittemore's review of a book about the late Randall Jarrell, I learn that the poet-critic "is said to have singlehandedly assured the position of Frost and Whitman in American poetry." This strikes me (as it obviously did Mr. Whittemore) as an outstanding manifestation of what I have decided to call the chanticleer fallacy to which some critics are so blindly devoted. The cock celebrates the rising of the sun, and Mr. Jarrell quite properly celebrated the establishment of Whitman and Frost in our literature. But the sun would rise without the aid of a cockcrow and artists "establish their positions" by their own rather than by somebody else's efforts. As for writers, they usually scorn critics except when they are being praised and they often insist that the only competent judge of an artist is another artist. But the fact is that writers very often judge their fellows as mistakenly as any critic ever misjudged his victims.

Our age believes itself to be conspicuously realistic and hardheaded. It prides itself upon its willingness to face the facts, in its ability to get rid of illusion and superstition. Yet no adjective is used more often to express admiration than "fabulous," and no quality is more widely touted than "glamour"—which means, of course, "magic." Perhaps we seek the fabulous and the glamorous in carpets and lipsticks because we refuse to recognize them in more significant places. Then there is the ambiguous word "mature." Most of the advisers to the perplexed upon whom we have come to rely so heavily assure us that anyone who strays from the path of strict monogamy is to that extent "immature." But on another page of the same newspaper we find that movies, TV shows and novels are described as "mature" because they treat just such lapses tolerantly or even admiringly.

What sort of people read the *New Yorker*? The cartoons and the text suggest one answer, the advertisements another. In fact the latter seem to address themselves to a naïvely snobbish pretentiousness which the editorial context frequently ridicules—even to the extent of reprinting snippets from other periodicals that take adman pitches seriously. Good examples of *New Yorker* ads are Yves St. Laurent offering his new perfume "Made especially for his devilishly aware clientele" and Peck and Peck's series

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in which its clientele is described as "A certain kind of woman" who "thinks she would like to try false eyebrows" or "who hears all the Rheingold concerts free when the wind is right"—this last being, I suppose, an adwriter's way of saying "whose menfolk can afford an expensive apartment." A typical cartoon showed a man lolling on the porch of a fabulously luxurious estate and saying to his wife, "Someone up there must like us." Typical ads (both from the same issue) are built around the slogans "The best things in life are frequently expensive" (North Star Blankets) and "Countess Mara designs for one man in a million" (handwoven neckties for $12.50). Is a typical reader one who gets the point of the cartoon but still envies its hero? Or are we supposed to take all this (along with Commander Whitehead's beard) as High Camp?

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Jesuits were sometimes censured for their books of casuistry in which sinners were assured that certain supposed sins were not really sins at all if one took proper precautions about the way in which they were committed. According to an item that I happened to read in a French newspaper, it appears that their successors are still devoting themselves to the task of relieving the anxiety of the overscrupulous. Two Roman theologians, Fathers Palazzini and Squillace (whether or not they are S. J.'s is not stated), have issued what the author of the newspaper article calls "a new barometer of sin which takes into consideration the devaluation of the currency." Thus the theft of one thousand lira, formerly a mortal sin, is now only venial, which seems fair enough. But other pronouncements may appear to some excessively liberal. For instance, in the case of the servant who steals from the mistress, he (or she) is guilty from now on of only a venial sin if the victim is stingy rather than generous in her treatment of employees.

Another decision likely to interest more of us should make the book popular in the United States and might, indeed, lead to a good many conversions. Those who cheat on their income tax are, we are now assured, not guilty of even a venial sin, provided that "the fraud is minimal," and that the cheater believes "in entire good faith" that the government does not make judicious use of his money.

There must be few Americans who do not believe that at least ten percent, let us say, of government spending is "injudicious," and this would seem to constitute permission to deduct that much from payments—if you can get away with it, which is harder to do in the United States than in Italy or in France. Moreover, the willingness to make the size of the theft "of the essence" makes perfectly reasonable the conduct of an American who is said to have written the tax bureau as follows: "Five years ago I cheated your Commission out of $1,000. This has so troubled my conscience that I have not been able to sleep and I am enclosing $500 in currency. If I still can't sleep, I will send the rest."

Most people are quite sure that the major as well as the minor modern gadgets are very much worth having, but their inventors are not always of the same opinion. I have long cherished the fact that Alexander Graham Bell refused to have a telephone in his own house; that Alfred Sloane "sometimes regretted" the invention of the internal combustion engine; and that Robert Oppenheimer confessed to the conviction that he and some of the others responsible for the atom bomb "had known sin." Recently I have been pleased to add to this list the name of Vladimir Zworykin, said to be the man most responsible for the invention of electronic television. Asked his favorite TV program, he replied, "None."

Many critics of contemporary society—including myself—have ridiculed our fellow citizens for their habit of carrying an elaborate paraphernalia to the beach or the mountains, apparently intended to distract them from the contemplation of what they had presumably come to enjoy. Like most of the absurdities of our society, we have only carried further than ever before

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habits almost as old as society itself. Nineteenth-century picnickers didn't bring along radios only because they didn't have them, but they did their best, as witness these few sentences from Thoreau:

> October 10, 1860. A party of school children had a picnic at the Esterbrooks Country the other day, and they carried bags of beans from their gymnasium to exercise with. . . . The traveler is no longer a wayfarer, with his staff and pack and dusty cloak. He is not a pilgrim, but he travels in a saloon and carries dumbbells to exercise with in the intervals of his journey.

I hope it will not completely destroy the planned asymmetry of this anti-essay if I circle back to the beginning and add a few more comments on women.

It was once said by someone (Somerset Maugham?) that they have always been torn between the desire to dress and the desire to undress, but there is no doubt which of these contrary impulses has recently had the upper hand. I think there is an explanation and a justification I have never seen mentioned.

Anyone who has studied attentively the female on a fashionable European beach will have been struck by the fact that there are ten handsome bodies to one pretty, or even interesting, face. And the reason for this is simply that handsome bodies can be made by almost anybody willing to try hard enough, but that one must be born with a pretty or interesting face—or at least with the makings of one. No wonder that the ten handsome bodies are determined to meet the unfair competition of the one really pretty face and are demanding the right to display their charms as effectively as possible. I can't say that I blame them.

Realizing that beauty is a leveler, aristocratic societies have always laid the greatest possible stress upon costume and such ornaments as powdered wigs and jewelry that make it impossible for the most richly endowed commoner to compete on equal terms with his betters. But where nakedness is permitted, you have, if not exactly a democracy, a meritocracy, at least.

Meadow

MARY KENNEDY

The moon piercing through apple leaves
struck me. I turned in my bed
and eyed the shadows. The stars
unmoving, moved, retreating,
faded against sudden brightness . . .
so brilliant is a moon on the wane.
The night held back something.
There was more to come . . .
It might be that I had a part in it.
I swung my feet out of bed
and roused the sleeping grasses.

✪ MARY KENNEDY's poems have appeared in *Botteghe Oscure, Vogue, Saturday Review, Harper's Bazaar* and other magazines. Seven of her plays have been produced.

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Thomas Kyd

FACTS AND PROBLEMS

By ARTHUR FREEMAN, *Boston University.* This biographical and critical study provides a broad basis for the study of Thomas Kyd's work, which has been hitherto unavailable in English. It treats Kyd's life, literary career, and the complicated events surrounding his imprisonment and death, his masterpiece, *The Spanish Tragedy,* and his translations, lost works, and apocrypha. The approach is scholarly in matters of determining facts, but an attempt has also been made to assess the playwright's achievement, believed by many to rank with that of Marlowe. $6.75

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Also available: *On the Poet and His Craft: Selected Letters of Theodore Roethke* edited by Ralph J. Mills, Jr. (172 pages. Paper, $1.95. Cloth, $4.95); *Theodore Roethke: Essays on the Poetry* edited by Arnold Stein (219 pages. Paper, $2.95. Cloth, $5.95).

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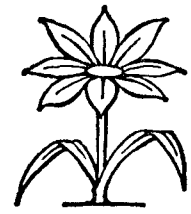

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First issue, April 1967. This new journal, published by Cambridge for the British Association for American Studies, is concerned with the study of the history, institutions, literature and culture of the United States.

It publishes work by specialists of any nationality on the above topics, on politics, geography and related subjects, comparative studies of American and other cultures, and book reviews.

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EDITED BY JAMES L. CLIFFORD

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The Superfluity of L.B.J.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

IN THE DARK BACKWARD AND ABYSM OF TIME"—to be precise, *Anno Domini* 1894—that versatile and industrious genius, William Gillette, staged a smash hit whose title chimes in the modern ear as a crystal wineglass rings to a particular violin note, although there is no connection between them. The play was *Too Much Johnson*. It was a farce.

To assert flatly that the political stage is presenting a revival of Mr. Gillette's work would be inadmissibly inexact. Mr. Gillette was aware that he had his tongue in his cheek, and the contemporary dramatists are not, which makes a great difference. But the applicability of the old title to the new situation is too close to pass unremarked.

As the year 1968 began Lyndon B. Johnson was, politically, merely incidental. The incredulity with which this statement will be received by normally acute observers is a measure of our overestimate of the President's centrality in the existing situation. I refer, of course, to the reality of things, not to their superficial appearance in the campaign and the plebiscite to which it will lead.

In appearance, of course, Mr. Johnson is the eye of the storm, the pivot, the hub around which all political action turns. As the campaign stands at the moment of writing, early in the year, it seems likely that the electorate in November will be obliged to choose either Johnson, or Johnson-plus—for instance, Reagan—or Johnson-minus—for instance, Romney. To the ultrafastidious, this would seem to be too much Johnson, and some sigh with Walter Lippmann for the flatly non-Johnson, Rockefeller; and they shudder at the probability that what they will actually get will be Johnson plus-or-minus, to wit, Nixon.

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This state of affairs has come about because by the end of 1967 all other issues had been engorged by the one problem of the war in Vietnam. Ordinarily, this would be satisfactory to professional politicians because a good war not only justifies any cause, but covers up any deficiencies of the party in power and enables unofficial looters to get away with the swag in enormous quantities. But this has not been a good war. It has been as muddy and bloody as usual, but it has produced more frustration than thrills—no Iwo Jima, no Midway, no Bastogne, but a long repetition of incidents, such as staff officers blown out of their beds in a Saigon hotel, aircraft destroyed on the ground at a Marine base camp, thirty men killed by a single bomb from one of our own planes, incidents tending to make our ponderous military establishment look as ineffective as the armament of Goliath of Gath. For years we have had to endure the snickers of the French and the raucous gibes of the Russians.

So it has become, politically, a very bad war indeed, and there seems to be no end to it, for the chief effort, so far, of the excessively loyal opposition, is to advocate making it worse. Naturally, this wretched affair has almost totally obscured the other achievements of the Johnson administration, some of which have been remarkably good. For one thing, President Johnson saved from almost certain destruction a large part of the Kennedy program of progressive legislation. It was accomplished by cleverly taking advantage of the storm of horror and wrath that swept the country after the assassination. As Booth made Lincoln, so Oswald made Kennedy a demigod, regardless of the fact that the two were, up to the moment of the crime, the most venomously hated Presidents—with the possible exception of Roosevelt—since Andrew Jackson. Johnson knew it would happen and he rode the storm to admiration. He has also proposed and secured partial acceptance of a program of social legislation well designed to counteract the increasing unrest of the disinherited that threatens the stability of all governments, including our own.

Normally, these are the efforts that would comprise the subjects of debate during the Presidential campaign, and on these issues the President enjoys strong support, especially among the better informed and more thoughtful segments of the population.

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But they have been obscured, not to say blotted from mind, by the issue of the war, which Johnson, by his own act, has made peculiarly his own. Constitutionally Congress is given the exclusive right to declare war but, by pressing for adoption of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, Johnson induced Congress to delegate its power to him. Truman was wiser, or certainly shrewder, in the matter of Korea. He persuaded the United Nations to take action that was tantamount to a declaration of war. Nevertheless, it came to be widely described as "Truman's war." With much better reason the Vietnam adventure is called "Johnson's war."

This is indeed too much Johnson. Granted that a large share of the war is his exclusive property, the fact remains that he didn't invent it, but inherited a minor war which he has built up into a major one. The thing actually originated in the double cross of 1956, by which Ho Chi Minh was denied the election that had been solemnly promised him, although, relying on that promise, he had kept his guerrillas restrained since 1954. That double cross was tolerated, if not instigated, by the then Secretary of State of the United States, John Foster Dulles.

The question then arises, what possessed Mr. Dulles, easily the most pious Secretary of State since William Jennings Bryan, to countenance a deal that all our critics could readily picture as crooked to the last degree? The answer apparently is that it was the domino theory implemented by the missionary complex. In 1956 Mr. Dulles believed—on insufficient evidence as we now know—that the non-Communist nations of Southeast Asia were set up like a row of dominoes standing on end, so that if one were knocked over, the rest would go down in rapid succession. That was the theory. A French newspaperman reported that Mr. Dulles told him that it was the duty of the United States to defend Christianity and Capitalism whenever and wherever they might be assailed. The statement has been denied, but, whether or not Mr. Dulles said it, his course of action proves that he believed it. That was the missionary complex.

In 1954 the northern half of Vietnam had already gone Communist, and by 1956 it was apparent that in anything like a fair election the southern half would also vote Communist. Under the domino theory, if Ho won the election in South Vietnam he

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would swiftly win all the other nations in that part of the world, and the missionary complex decreed that no kind of promise was to be kept if Christianity and Capitalism were at stake. So we repudiated our agreement to abide by the result and backed our puppet, Diem, when he cheated Ho out of the promised election. Dulles favored going to the support of Diem, as he had favored supporting the French, at full strength, but President Eisenhower was troubled by the old-fashioned idea that a promise is a promise, so he restricted our participation to under-the-counter supplies of arms, ammunition, money and expert advice. It was Kennedy who first sent in combat troops, and Johnson who sent them in half a million strong.

Stated thus baldly, the deal looks fully as rotten as de Gaulle and *Pravda* have been saying it is. Indeed, not a few Americans, especially among the young idealists and the old philosophers, are persuaded that for once, incredible as it seems, de Gaulle and *Pravda* are telling the truth. Thus the Presidential campaign of 1968 started uncertainly, hesitantly, with partisan lines blurred or, rather, with both parties split down the middle.

At the end of 1967 there was, indeed, one startling development. A reckless daredevil appeared in, of all places, the United States Senate, when a Democrat announced that he would challenge the President's renomination in the primaries. To conventional-minded observers the late Blondin, when he undertook to cross Niagara Falls on a tightrope, was a timid soul by comparison with the Honorable Eugene J. McCarthy, undertaking to defeat a President of his own party. In the normal course of events, by the time the Administration's squad of hatchet men get through with McCarthy, you could bury the remains in a matchbox.

The situation, however, is not normal. At the beginning of the year, water was running uphill in a most disconcerting fashion. Following the Dulles formula, we have defended Christianity by acquiescing in the butchery of the Catholic, Diem, and supporting the Buddhist, Ky. We have defended Capitalism by destroying the capital assets of Vietnam at enormous waste of our own. The domino that we have supported remains prostrate while another, Indonesia, knocked down by Sukarno, has righted itself without asking for our consent, much less our aid. When everything else

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has been reduced to absurdity, it is certainly conceivable that political prophecy, based on the experience of the past, may be equally absurd.

It is still beyond belief that Senator McCarthy has any real chance to win the nomination, but it is not inconceivable that he might win two or three of the half-dozen primaries he proposes to enter, and pile up a formidable vote in the others. If he did so, the Democratic organization would enter the campaign in a state of shock comparable to that after the terrific convention of 1924. In that year the Republicans could have elected Ah Sin, the heathen Chinee, to say nothing of Calvin Coolidge. If McCarthy should give Johnson a real battering, the Republicans could elect Nixon or Beelzebub—and probably would.

Yet, even in that remote contingency, Johnson would remain incidental. This is not to say that he would be of no importance. On the contrary, it is commonly some incidental factor that diverts attention from the central issue and aborts attempts to secure a clear expression of the popular will in elections. Nevertheless, Johnson, whether one supports or opposes him, is not the central issue in 1968. The central issue is the answer to this question: Did or did not John Foster Dulles correctly interpret the American consensus in giving the duty to defend Christianity and Capitalism priority over all other duties, including the duty of making good one's pledged word?

It is not at all a rhetorical question. There is much reason to believe that the man expressed the prevailing opinion of the country at that time, and perhaps at this time. If he did, then we must admit a reversal of the original American polity. The word, if you please, is "polity," not "politics." Politics determines who is to administer the government. Polity determines what the government shall represent, regardless of its administration. Our original polity was succinctly stated by Jefferson as "hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." If our polity has now become selective, if we now oppose not *every* form, but only heathenish and communistic forms, of intellectual tyranny, the change is radical and significant, for it implies tolerance of many ideas and policies that formerly we repudiated utterly.

One of these is the suppression of dissent, whether by the

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strong arm of the law, or the arm, often stronger, of official contumely and incitations to contempt. The latter was the chosen method of Joe—not Gene—McCarthy, and it was productive of evils beyond computation, one being the terrorizing of our diplomatic service to such an extent that many of our representatives abroad dared not transmit true information to Washington for fear of the vindictive rage of McCarthyism. Yet we tolerated it for years, indeed until Joe McCarthy overreached himself by attacking the sacrosanct military.

This is clearly indicative of a shift from hostility to *every* form of tyranny to hostility to selective forms. It is not necessarily a mass movement; for any idea, to prevail, need be accepted only by what Toynbee called the "creative minority." He might better have said "kinetic" minority, for it is as capable of destructive as of creative activity. The characteristic of this minority is that it acts, and its energy thrusts the torpid majority in any direction with equal efficiency. John Adams estimated this minority at one-third of the whole population in his time. To modern observers that seems rather optimistic, and many would reduce the figure to one-fourth. But whatever their number, they run the country. They usually dominate its politics and they always dominate its polity.

Thus, if we have achieved a reversal of the original American principle of freedom of the mind, the embodiment of the reversal is a matter of small moment. If the thing is done, who cares who did it—Joe McCarthy, Foster Dulles, Lyndon Johnson or some other? None could have accomplished it without the tacit consent of the activists, and none can continue it without that consent.

This is the issue, but its clear settlement in November is too much to expect and far too much to predict. The crucial moment is more likely to come in midsummer, at the national conventions, rather than November 5 at the polls. If the Democratic nominee is to be Johnson, and the Republican nominee Johnson-plus, say, Reagan, or Johnson-minus, say, Romney, how can anything of real importance be decided? Above all, how can anyone know whether the minority that really runs the country is for freedom, period, or has plumped for freedom in spots?

Thus, while Lyndon B. Johnson *in propria persona* is incidental, too much Johnson is a very real threat.

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Youth, Change and Violence

KENNETH KENISTON

WE OFTEN FEEL that today's youth are somehow "different." There is something about today's world that seems to give the young a special restlessness, an increased impatience with the "hypocrisies" of the past, and yet an open gentleness and a searching honesty more intense than that of youth in the past. Much of what we see in today's students and nonstudents is of course familiar: to be young is in one sense always the same. But it is also new and different, as each generation confronts its unique historical position and role.

Yet we find it hard to define the difference. Partly the difficulty derives from the elusive nature of youth itself. Still this generation seems even more elusive than most—and that, too, may be one of the differences. Partly the problem stems from the sheer variety and number of "youth" in a society where youth is often protracted into the mid-twenties. No one characterization can be adequate to the drop-outs and stay-ins, hawks and doves, up-tights and cools, radicals and conservatives, heads and seekers that constitute American youth. But although we understand that the young are as various as the old in our complex society, the sense that they are different persists.

In giving today's American youth this special quality and mood, two movements have played a major role: the New Left and the hippies. Both groups are spontaneous creations of the

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young; both are in strong reaction to what Paul Goodman calls the Organized System; both seek alternatives to the institutions of middle-class life. Radicals and hippies are also different from each other in numerous ways, from psychodynamics to ideology. The hippie has dropped out of a society he considers irredeemable: his attention is riveted on interior change and the expansion of personal consciousness. The radical has not given up on this society: his efforts are aimed at changing and redeeming it. Furthermore, both "movements" together comprise but a few percent of their contemporaries. But, although neither hippies nor New Leftists are "representative" of their generation, together they are helping to give this generation its distinctive mood. By examining the style of these young men and women, we come closer to understanding what makes their generation "different."

The Style of Post-Modern Youth

Today's youth is the first generation to grow up with "modern" parents; it is the first "post-modern" generation. This fact alone distinguishes it from previous generations and helps create a mood born out of modernity, affluence, rapid social change and violence. Despite the many pitfalls in the way of any effort to delineate a post-modern style, the effort seems worth making. For not only in America but in other nations, new styles of dissent and unrest have begun to appear, suggesting the slow emergence of youthful style that is a reflection of and reaction to the history of the past two decades.*

In emphasizing "style" rather than ideology, program or characteristics, I mean to suggest that the communalities in post-modern youth groups are to be found in the *way* they approach the world, rather than in their actual behavior, ideologies or goals. Indeed, the focus on process rather than program is itself a prime characteristic of the post-modern style, reflecting a world where flux is more obvious than fixed purpose. Post-modern youth, at least in America, is very much in process, unfinished in its development, psychologically open to a historically unpredictable future. In such a world, where ideologies come and go, and where

* In the effort to delineate this style, I have been helped and influenced by Robert J. Lifton's concept of Protean Man. For a summary of his views, see *Partisan Review*, Winter 1968.

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revolutionary change is the rule, a style, a *way* of doing things, is more possible to identify than any fixed goals or constancies of behavior.

Fluidity, Flux, Movement. Post-modern youth display a special personal and psychological openness, flexibility and unfinishedness. Although many of today's youth have achieved a sense of inner identity, the term "identity" suggests a fixity, stability and "closure" that many of them are not willing to accept: with these young men and women, it is not always possible to speak of the "normal resolution" of identity issues. Our earlier fear of the ominous psychiatric implications of "prolonged adolescence" must now be qualified by an awareness that in post-modern youth many adolescent concerns and qualities persist long past the time when (according to the standards in earlier eras) they should have ended. Increasingly, post-modern youth are tied to social and historical changes that have not occurred, and that may never occur. Thus, psychological "closure," shutting doors and burning bridges, becomes impossible. The concepts of the personal future and the "life work" are ever more hazily defined; the effort to change oneself, redefine oneself or reform oneself does not cease with the arrival of adulthood.

This fluidity and openness extends through all areas of life. Both hippie and New Left movements are nondogmatic, nonideological, and to a large extent hostile to doctrine and formula. In the New Left, the focus is on "tactics"; amongst hippies, on simple direct acts of love and communication. In neither group does one find clear-cut long-range plans, life patterns laid out in advance. The vision of the personal and collective future is blurred and vague: later adulthood is left deliberately open. In neither group is psychological development considered complete; in both groups, identity, like history, is fluid and indeterminate. In one sense, of course, identity development takes place; but, in another sense, identity is always undergoing transformations that parallel the transformations of the historical world.

Generational Identification. Post-modern youth views itself primarily as a part of a generation rather than an organization; they

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identify with their contemporaries as a group, rather than with elders; and they do not have clearly defined leaders and heroes. Their deepest collective identification is to their own group or "Movement"—a term that in its ambiguous meanings points not only to the fluidity and openness of post-modern youth, but to its physical mobility, and the absence of traditional patterns of leadership and emulation. Among young radicals, for example, the absence of heroes or older leaders is impressive: even those five years older are sometimes viewed with mild amusement or suspicion. And although post-modern youth is often widely read in the "literature" of the New Left or that of consciousness-expansion, no one person or set of people is central to their intellectual beliefs. Although they live together in groups, these groups are without clear leaders.

Identification with a generational movement, rather than a cross-generational organization or a nongenerational ideology, distinguishes post-modern youth from its parents and from the "previous" generation. In addition, it also creates "generational" distinctions involving five years and less. Within the New Left, clear lines are drawn between the "old New Left" (approximate age, thirty), the New Left (between twenty-two and twenty-eight) and the "new New Left" or "young kids" (under twenty-two). Generations, then, are separated by a very brief span; and the individual's own phase of youthful usefulness—for example, as an organizer—is limited to a relatively few years. Generations come and go quickly; whatever is to be accomplished must therefore be done soon.

Generational consciousness also entails a feeling of psychological disconnection from previous generations, their life situations and their ideologies. Among young radicals, there is a strong feeling that the older ideologies are exhausted or irrelevant, expressed in detached amusement at the doctrinaire disputes of the "old Left" and impatience with "old liberals." Among hippies, the irrelevance of the parental past is even greater: if there is any source of insight, it is the timeless tradition of the East, not the values of the previous generation in American society. But in both groups, the central values are those created in the present by the "Movement" itself.

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Personalism. Both groups are highly personalistic in their styles of relationship. Among hippies, personalism usually entails privatism, a withdrawal from efforts to be involved in or to change the wider social world; among young radicals, personalism is joined with efforts to change the world. But despite this difference, both groups care most deeply about the creation of intimate, loving, open and trusting relationships between small groups of people. Writers who condemn the depersonalization of the modern world, who insist on "I-thou" relationships, or who expose the elements of anger, control and sadism in nonreciprocal relationships, find a ready audience in post-modern youth. The ultimate measure of man's life is the quality of his personal relationships; the greatest sin is to be unable to relate to others in a direct, face-to-face, one-to-one relationship.

The obverse of personalism is the discomfort created by any nonpersonal, "objectified," professionalized and, above all, exploitative relationship. Manipulation, power relationships, superordination, control and domination are at violent odds with the I-thou mystique. Failure to treat others as fully human, inability to enter into personal relationships with them, is viewed with dismay in others and with guilt in oneself. Even with opponents the goal is to establish intimate confrontations in which the issues can be discussed openly. When opponents refuse to "meet with" young radicals, this produces anger and frequently demonstrations. The reaction of the Harvard Students for a Democratic Society when Secretary McNamara did not meet with them to discuss American foreign policies is a case in point. Equally important, perhaps the most profound source of personal guilt among post-modern youth is the "hangups" that make intimacy and love difficult.

Nonasceticism. Post-modern youth is nonascetic, expressive and sexually free. The sexual openness of the hippie world has been much discussed and criticized in the mass media. One finds a similar sexual and expressive freedom among many young radicals, although it is less provocatively demonstrative. It is of continuing importance to these young men and women to overcome and move beyond inhibition and puritanism to a greater physical expressiveness, sexual freedom, capacity for intimacy, and ability to enjoy life.

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In the era of the Pill, then, responsible sexual expression becomes increasingly possible outside of marriage, at the same time that sexuality becomes less laden with guilt, fear and prohibition. As asceticism disappears, so does promiscuity: the personalism of post-modern youth requires that sexual expression must occur in the context of "meaningful" human relationships, of intimacy and mutuality. Marriage is increasingly seen as an institution for having children, but sexual relationships are viewed as the natural concomitant of close relationships between the sexes. What is important is not sexual activity itself, but the context in which it occurs. Sex is right and natural between people who are "good to each other," but sexual exploitation—failure to treat one's partner as a person—is strongly disapproved.

Inclusiveness. The search for personal and organizational inclusiveness is still another characteristic of post-modern youth. These young men and women attempt to include both within their personalities and within their movements every opposite, every possibility and every person, no matter how apparently alien. Psychologically, inclusiveness involves an effort to be open to every aspect of one's feelings, impulses and fantasies, to synthesize and integrate rather than repress and dissociate, not to reject or exclude any part of one's personality or potential. Interpersonally, inclusiveness means a capacity for involvement with, identification with and collaboration with those who are superficially alien: the peasant in Vietnam, the poor in America, the nonwhite, the deprived and deformed. Indeed, so great is the pressure to include the alien, especially among hippies, that the apparently alien is often treated more favorably than the superficially similar: thus, the respect afforded to people and ideas that are distant and strange is sometimes not equally afforded those who are similar, be they one's parents or their middle-class values. One way of explaining the reaction of post-modern youth to the war in Vietnam is via the concept of inclusiveness: these young men and women react to events in Southeast Asia much as if they occurred in Newton, Massachusetts, Evanston, Illinois, Harlem, or Berkeley, California: they make little distinction in their reactions to their fellow Americans and those overseas.

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One corollary of inclusiveness is intense internationalism. What matters to hippies or young radicals is not where a person comes from, but what kind of relationship is possible with him. The nationality of ideas matters little: Zen Buddhism, American pragmatism, French existentialism, Indian mysticism or Yugoslav communism are accorded equal hearings. Interracialism is another corollary of inclusiveness: racial barriers are minimized or nonexistent, and the ultimate expressions of unity between the races, sexual relationships and marriage, are considered basically natural and normal, whatever the social problems they currently entail. In post-modern youth, then, identity and ideology are no longer parochial or national; increasingly, the reference group is the world, and the artificial subspeciation of the human species is broken down.

Antitechnologism. Post-modern youth has grave reservations about many of the technological aspects of the contemporary world. The depersonalization of life, commercialism, careerism and familism, the bureaucratization and complex organization of advanced nations—all seem intolerable to these young men and women, who seek to create new forms of association and action to oppose the technologism of our day. Bigness, impersonality, stratification and hierarchy are rejected, as is any involvement with the furtherance of technological values. In reaction to these values, post-modern youth seeks simplicity, naturalness, personhood and even voluntary poverty.

But a revolt against technologism is only possible, of course, in a technological society; and to be effective, it must inevitably exploit technology to overcome technologism. Thus in post-modern youth, the fruits of technology—synthetic hallucinogens in the hippie subculture, modern technology of communication among young radicals—and the affluence made possible by technological society are a precondition for a post-modern style. The demonstrative poverty of the hippie would be meaningless in a society where poverty is routine; for the radical to work for subsistence wages as a matter of choice is to *have* a choice not available in most parts of the world. Furthermore, to "organize" against the pernicious aspects of the technological era requires high skill

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in the use of modern technologies of organization: the long-distance telephone, the use of the mass media, high-speed travel, the mimeograph machine and so on. In the end, then, it is not the material but the spiritual consequences of technology that post-modern youth opposes: indeed, in the developing nations, those who exhibit a post-modern style may be in the vanguard of movements toward modernization. What *is* adamantly rejected is the contamination of life with the values of technological organization and production. It seems probable that a comparable rejection of the psychological consequences of current technology, coupled with the simultaneous ability to exploit that technology, characterizes all dissenting groups in all epochs.

Participation. Post-modern youth is committed to a search for new forms of groups, of organizations and of action where decision-making is collective, arguments are resolved by "talking them out," self-examination, interpersonal criticism and group decision-making are fused. The objective is to create new styles of life and new types of organization that humanize rather than dehumanize, that activate and strengthen the participants rather than undermining or weakening them. And the primary vehicle for such participation is the small, face-to-face primary group of peers.

The search for new participatory forms of organization and action can hardly be deemed successful as yet, especially in the New Left, where effectiveness in the wider social and political scene remains to be demonstrated. There are inherent differences between the often task-less, face-to-face group that is the basic form of organization for both hippies and radicals and the task-oriented organization—differences that make it difficult to achieve social effectiveness based solely on small primary groups. But there may yet evolve from the hippie "tribes," small Digger communities, and primary groups of the New Left, new forms of association in which self-criticism, awareness of group interaction, and the accomplishment of social and political goals go hand in hand. The effort to create groups in which individuals grow from their participation in the group extends far beyond the New Left and the hippie world; the same search is seen in the widespread enthusiasm for "sensitivity training" groups and even in the in-

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creasing use of groups as a therapeutic instrument. Nor is this solely an American search: one sees a similar focus, for example, in the Communist nations, with their emphasis on small groups that engage in the "struggle" of mutual criticism and self-criticism.

The search for effectiveness combined with participation has also led to the evolution of "new" styles of social and political action. The newness of such forms of political action as parades and demonstrations is open to some question; perhaps what is most new is the *style* in which old forms of social action are carried out. The most consistent effort is to force one's opponent into a personal confrontation with one's own point of view. Sit-ins, freedom rides, insistence upon discussions, silent and nonviolent demonstrations—all have a prime objective to "get through to" the other side, to force reflection, to bear witness to one's own principles, and to impress upon others the validity of these same principles. There is much that is old and familiar about this, although few of today's young radicals or hippies are ideologically committed to Gandhian views of nonviolence. Yet the underlying purpose of many of the emerging forms of social and political action, whether they be "human be-ins," "love-ins," peace marches or "teach-ins," has a new motive—hope that by expressing one's own principles, by "demonstrating" one's convictions, one can through sheer moral force win over one's opponents and lure them as well into participating with one's own values.

Antiacademicism. Among post-modern youth, one finds a virtually unanimous rejection of the "merely academic." This rejection is one manifestation of a wider insistence on the relevance, applicability and personal meaningfulness of knowledge. It would be wrong simply to label this trend "anti-intellectual," for many new radicals and not a few hippies are themselves highly intellectual people. What is demanded is that intelligence be engaged with the world, just as action should be informed by knowledge. In the New Left, at least amongst leaders, there is enormous respect for knowledge and information, and great impatience with those who act without understanding. Even amongst hippies, where the importance of knowledge and information is less stressed, it would be

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wrong simply to identify the rejection of the academic world and its values with a total rejection of intellect, knowledge and wisdom.

To post-modern youth, then, most of what is taught in schools, colleges and universities is largely irrelevant to living life in the last third of the twentieth century. Many academics are seen as direct or accidental apologists for the Organized System in the United States. Much of what they teach is considered simply unconnected to the experience of post-modern youth. New ways of learning are sought: ways that combine action with reflection upon action, ways that fuse engagement in the world with understanding of it. In an era of rapid change, the accrued wisdom of the past is cast into question, and youth seeks not only new knowledge, but new ways of learning and knowing.

Nonviolence. Finally, post-modern youth of all persuasions meets on the ground of nonviolence. For hippies, the avoidance of and calming of violence is a central objective, symbolized by gifts of flowers to policemen and the slogan, "Make love, not war." And although nonviolence as a philosophical principle has lost most of its power in the New Left, nonviolence as a psychological orientation is a crucial—perhaps *the* crucial—issue. The nonviolence of post-modern youth should not be confused with pacificism: these are not necessarily young men and women who believe in turning the other cheek or who are systematically opposed to fighting for what they believe in. But the basic style of both radicals and hippies is profoundly opposed to warfare, destruction and exploitation of man by man, and to violence whether on an interpersonal or an international scale. Even among those who do not consider nonviolence a good in itself, a psychological inoculation against violence, even a fear of it, is a unifying theme.

The Credibility Gap: Principle and Practice

In creating the style of today's youth, the massive and violent social changes of the past two decades have played a central role. Such social changes are not only distantly perceived by those who are growing up, but are immediately interwoven into the texture of their daily lives as they develop. The social changes of the post-war era affect the young in a variety of ways: in particular,

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they contribute to a special sensitivity to the discrepancy between principle and practice. For during this era of rapid social change the values most deeply embedded in the parental generation and expressed in their behavior in time of crisis are frequently very different from the more "modern" principles, ideals and values that this generation has professed and attempted to practice in bringing up its children. Filial perception of the discrepancy between practice and principle may help explain the very widespread sensitivity amongst post-modern youth to the "hypocrisy" of the previous generation.

The grandparents of today's twenty-year-olds were generally born at the end of the nineteenth century, and brought up during the pre-World War I years. Heirs of a Victorian tradition as yet unaffected by the value revolutions of the twentieth century, they reared their own children, the parents of today's youth, in families that emphasized respect, the control of impulse, obedience to authority, and the traditional "inner-directed" values of hard work, deferred gratification and self-restraint. Their children, born around the time of the First World War, were thus socialized in families that remained largely Victorian in outlook.

During their lifetimes, however, these parents (and in particular the most intelligent and advantaged among them) were exposed to a great variety of new values that often changed their nominal faiths. During their youths in the 1920's and 1930's, major changes in American behavior and American values took place. For example, the "emancipation of women" in the 1920's, marked by the achievement of suffrage for women, coincided with the last major change in actual sexual behavior in America: during this period, women began to become the equal partners of men, who no longer sought premarital sexual experience solely with women of a lower class. More important, the 1920's and the 1930's were an era when older Victorian values were challenged, attacked and all but discredited, especially in educated middle-class families. Young men and women who went to college during this period (as did most of the parents of those who can be termed "post-modern" today) were influenced outside their families by a variety of "progressive," "liberal," and even psychoanalytic ideas that contrasted sharply with the values of

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their childhood families. Moreover, during the 1930's, many of the parents of today's upper middle-class youth were exposed to or involved with the ideals of the New Deal, and sometimes to more radical interpretations of man, society and history. Finally, in the 1940's and 1950's, when it came time to rear their own children, the parents of today's elite youth were strongly influenced by "permissive" views of child-rearing that again contrasted sharply with the techniques by which they themselves had been raised. Thus, many middle-class parents moved during their lifetime from the Victorian ethos in which they had been socialized to the less moralistic, more humanitarian, and more "expressive" values of their own adulthoods.

But major changes in values, when they occur in adult life, are likely to be far from complete. To have grown up in a family where unquestioning obedience to parents was expected, but to rear one's own children in an atmosphere of "democratic" permissiveness and self-determination—and never to revert to the practices of one's own childhood—requires a change of values more total and comprehensive than most adults can achieve. Furthermore, behavior that springs from values acquired in adulthood often appears somewhat forced, artificial or insincere to the sensitive observer. Children, clearly the most sensitive observers of their own parents, are likely to sense a discrepancy between their parents' avowed and consciously-held values and their "basic instincts" with regard to child-rearing. Furthermore, the parental tendency to "revert to form" is greatest in times of family crisis, which are of course the times that have the greatest effect upon children. No matter how "genuinely" parents held their "new" values, many of them inevitably found themselves falling back on the lessons of their own childhoods when the chips were down.

In a time of rapid social change, then, a special *credibility gap* is likely to open between the generations. Children are likely to perceive a considerable discrepancy between what their parents avow as their values and the actual assumptions from which parental behavior springs. In many middle-class teen-agers today, for example, the focal issue of adolescent rebellion against parents often seems to be just this discrepancy: the children arguing that their parents' endorsement of independence and self-determination

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for their children is "hypocritical" in that it does not correspond with the real behavior of the parents when their children actually seek independence. Similar perceptions of parental "hypocrisy" occur around racial matters: for example, there are many parents who in principle support racial and religious equality, but become violently upset when their children date someone from another race or religion. Around political activity similar issues arise. For example, many of the parents of today's youth espouse in principle the cause of political freedom, but are not involved themselves in politics and oppose their children's involvement lest they "jeopardize their record" or "ruin their later career."

Of course, no society ever fully lives up to its own professed ideals. In every society there is a gap between creedal values and actual practices, and in every society, the recognition of this gap constitutes a powerful motor for social change. But in most societies, especially when social change is slow and institutions are powerful and unchanging, there occurs what can be termed *institutionalization of hypocrisy*. Children and adolescents routinely learn when it is "reasonable" to expect that the values people profess will be implemented in their behavior, and when it is not reasonable. There develops an elaborate system of exegesis and commentary upon the society's creedal values, excluding certain people or situations from the full weight of these values, or "demonstrating" that apparent inconsistencies are not really inconsistencies at all. Thus, in almost all societies, a "sincere" man who "honestly" believes one set of values is frequently allowed to ignore them completely, for example, in the practice of his business, in his interpersonal relationships, in dealings with foreigners, in relationships to his children, and so on—all because these areas have been officially defined as exempt from the application of his creedal values.

In a time of rapid social change and value change, however, the institutionalization of hypocrisy seems to break down. "New" values have been in existence for so brief a period that the exemptions to them have not yet been defined, the situations to be excluded have not yet been determined, and the universal gap between principle and practice appears in all of its nakedness. Thus, the mere fact of a discrepancy between creedal values and prac-

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tice is not at all unusual. But what is special about the present situation of rapid value change is, first, that parents themselves tend to have two conflicting sets of values, one related to the experience of their early childhood, the other to the ideologies and principles acquired in adulthood; and second, that no stable institutions or rules for defining hypocrisy out of existence have yet been fully evolved. In such a situation, children see the Emperor's nakedness with unusual clarity, recognizing the value conflict within their parents and perceiving clearly the hypocritical gap between creed and behavior.

This argument suggests that the post-modern youth may not be confronted with an "objective" gap between parental preaching and practice any greater than that of most generations. But they are confronted with an unusual internal ambivalance within the parental generation over the values that parents successfully inculcated in their children, and they are "deprived" of a system of social interpretation that rationalizes the discrepancy between creed and deed. It seems likely, then, that today's youth may simply be able to perceive the universal gulf between principle and practice more clearly than previous generations have done.

This points to one of the central characteristics of post-modern youth: they insist on taking seriously a great variety of political, personal and social principles that "no one in his right mind" ever before thought of attempting to extend to such situations as dealings with strangers, relations between the races, or international politics. For example, peaceable openness has long been a creedal virtue in our society, but it has never been extended to foreigners, particularly with dark skins. Similarly, equality has long been preached, but the "American dilemma" has been resolved by a series of institutionalized hypocrisies that exempted Negroes from the application of this principle. Love has always been a central value in Christian society, but really to love one's enemies—to be generous to policemen, customers, criminals, servants and foreigners—has been considered folly.

These speculations on the credibility gap between the generations in a time of rapid change may help explain two crucial facts about post-modern youth: first, they frequently come from

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highly principled families with whose principles they continue to agree; second, that they have the outrageous temerity to insist that individuals and societies live by the values they preach. And these speculations may also explain the frequent feeling of those who have worked intensively with student radicals or hippies that, apart from the "impracticality" of some of their views, these sometimes seem to be the only clear-eyed and sane people in a society and a world where most of us are still systematically blind to the traditional gap between personal principle and practice, national creed and policy, a gap that we may no longer be able to afford.

Violence: Sadism and Cataclysm

Those who are today in their early twenties were born near the end of World War II, the most violent and barbarous war in world history. The lasting imprint of that war can be summarized in the names of three towns: Auschwitz, Hiroshima and Nuremberg. *Auschwitz* points to the possibility of a "civilized" nation embarking on a systematized, well-organized and scientific plan of exterminating an entire people. *Hiroshima* demonstrated how "clean," easy and impersonal cataclysm could be to those who perpetrate it, and how demonic, sadistic and brutal to those who experience it. And *Nuremberg* summarizes the principle that men have an accountability above obedience to national policy, a responsibility to conscience more primary even than fidelity to national law. These three lessons are the matrix for the growth of post-modern youth.

The terror of violence that has hung over all men and women since the Second World War has especially shaped the outlooks of today's youth. In the first memories of a group of young radicals, for example, one finds the following recollections: a dim recall of the end of World War II; childhood terror of the atomic bomb; witnessing the aftermath of a violent riot in the United States; being frightened by a picture of a tank riding over rubble; being violently jealous at the birth of a younger brother; taking part in "gruesome" fights in the school yard. Such memories mean many things, but in them, violence-in-the-world finds echo and counterpart in the violence of inner feelings. The term "violence" suggests

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both of these possibilities: the *psychological* violence of sadism, exploitation and aggression, and the *historical* violence of war, cataclysm and holocaust. In the lives of most of this generation, the threats of inner and outer violence are fused, each activating, exciting and potentiating the other. To summarize a complex thesis into a few words: *the issue of violence is to this generation what the issue of sex was to the Victorian world.*

Stated differently, what is most deeply repressed, rejected, feared, controlled and projected onto others by the post-modern generation is no longer their own sexuality. Sex, for most of this generation, is much freer, more open, less guilt- and anxiety-ridden. But violence, whether in one's self or in others, has assumed new prominence as the prime source of inner and outer terror. That this should be so in the modern world is readily understandable. Over all of us hangs the continual threat of a technological violence more meaningless, absurd, total and unpremeditated than any ever imagined before. Individual life always resonates with historical change; history is not merely the backdrop for development, but its ground. To be grounded in the history of the past two decades is to have stood upon, to have experienced both directly and vicariously, violent upheaval, violent worldwide revolution, and the unrelenting possibility of worldwide destruction. To have been alive and aware in America during the past decade has been to be exposed to the assassination of a President and the televised murder of his murderer, to the well-publicized slaughter of Americans by their fellow countrymen, and to the recent violence in our cities. To have been a middle-class child in the past two decades is to have watched daily the violence of television, both as it reports the bloodshed and turmoil of the American and non-American world, and as it skillfully elaborates and externalizes in repetitive dramas the potential for violence within each of us.

It therefore requires no assumption of an increase in biological aggression to account for the salience of the issue of violence for post-modern youth. The capacity for rage, spite and aggression is part of our endowment as human beings: it is a constant potential of human nature. But during the past two decades—indeed, starting before the Second World War—we have witnessed violence and imagined violence on a scale more frightening than ever be-

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fore. Like the angry child who fears that his rage will itself destroy those around him, we have become vastly more sensitive to and fearful of our inner angers, for we live in a world where even the mildest irritation, multipled a billionfold by modern technology, might destroy all civilization. The fact of violent upheaval and the possibility of cataclysm has been literally brought into our living rooms during the past twenty years: it has been interwoven with the development of a whole generation.

It should not surprise us, then, that the issue of violence is a focal concern for those of contemporary youth with the greatest historical consciousness. The hippie slogan "Make love, not war" expresses their sentiment, albeit in a form that the "realist" of previous generations might deem sentimental or romantic. Although few young radicals would agree with the wording of this statement, the underlying sentiment corresponds to their basic psychological orientation. For them, as for many others of their generation, the primary task is to develop new psychological, political and international controls on violence. Indeed, many of the dilemmas of today's young radicals seem related to their extraordinarily zealous efforts to avoid any action or relationship in which inner or outer violence might be evoked. Distaste for violence animates the profound revulsion many of today's youth feel toward the war in Southeast Asia, just as it underlies a similar revulsion against the exploitation or control of man by man. The same psychological nonviolence is related to young radicals' avoidance of traditional leadership lest it lead to domination, to their emphasis on person-to-person participation and "confrontation," and even to their unwillingness to "play the media" in an attempt to gain political effectiveness. Even the search for forms of mass political action that avoid physical violence—a preference severely tested and somewhat undermined by the events of recent months—points to a considerable distaste for the direct expression of aggression.

I do not mean to suggest that post-modern youth contains a disproportionate number of tight-lipped pacifists or rage-filled deniers of their own inner angers. On the contrary, among today's youth, exuberance, passionateness and zest are the rule rather than the exception. Nor are hippies and young radicals incapable of anger, rage and resentment—especially when their principles are

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violated. But for many of these young men and women, the experiences of early life and the experience of the postwar world are joined in a special sensitivity to the issue of violence, whether in themselves or in others. This confluence of psychological and historical forces helps explain the intensity of their search for new forms of social organization and political action that avoid manipulation, domination and control, just as it contributes to their widespread opposition to warfare of all kinds.

Yet the position of psychologically nonviolent youth in a violent world is difficult and paradoxical. On the one hand, he seeks to minimize violence, but on the other, his efforts often elicit violence from others. At the same time that he attempts to work to actualize his vision of a peaceful world, he must confront more directly and continually than do his peers the fact that the world is neither peaceful nor just. The frustration and discouragement of his work repetitively reawaken his anger, which must forever be rechanneled into peaceful paths. Since he continually confronts destructiveness and exploitation in the world, his own inevitable potential for destructiveness and exploitiveness inevitably arouses in him great guilt. The young men and women who make up the New Left in America, like other post-modern youth, have far less difficulty in living with their sexual natures than did their parents; but what they continue to find difficult to live with, what they still repress, avoid and counteract is their own potential for violence. It remains to be seen whether, in the movement toward "resistance" and disruption of today's young radicals, their psychological nonviolence will continue to be reflected in their actions.

In pointing to the psychological dimension of the issue of violence, I do not mean to attribute causal primacy either to the experiences of early life or to their residues in adulthood. My thesis is rather that for those of this generation with the greatest historical awareness, the psychological and historical possibility of violence have come to potentiate each other. To repeat: witnessing the acting out of violence on a scale more gigantic than ever before, or imaginatively participating in the possibility of worldwide holocaust activates the fear of one's own violence; heightened awareness of one's inner potential for rage, anger or de-

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structiveness increases sensitivity to the possibility of violence in the world.

This same process of historical potentiation of inner violence has occurred, I believe, throughout the modern world, and brings with it not only the intensified efforts to curb violence we see in this small segment of post-modern youth, but other more frightening possibilities. Post-modern youth, to an unusual degree, remain open to and aware of their own angers and aggressions, and this awareness creates in them a sufficient understanding of inner violence to enable them to control it in themselves and oppose it in others. Most men and women, young or old, possess less insight: their inner sadism is projected onto others whom they thereafter loathe or abjectly serve; or, more disastrously, historically-heightened inner violence is translated into outer aggression and murderousness, sanctioned by self-righteousness.

Thus, if the issue of violence plagues post-modern youth, it is not because these young men and women are more deeply rage-filled than most. On the contrary, it is because such young men and women have confronted this issue more squarely in themselves and in the world than have any but a handful of their fellows. If they have not yet found solutions, they have at least faced an issue so dangerous that most of us find it too painful even to acknowledge, and they have done so, most remarkably, without identifying with what they oppose. Their still-incomplete lives pose for us all the question on which our survival as individuals and as a world depends: Can we create formulations and forms to control historical and psychological violence before their fusion destroys us all?

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Two Nudes

SAMUEL HAZO

I

Her body is the raised baton
that taps the resting sketchers back
to easels, palettes, paints and her.
A scar from belly surgery

tucks in as she reseats herself
sidesaddle on a sheeted stool
and stops. The pose and body fuse.
The mold of holding merely still

recedes, recedes. Slowly her eyes
repeal the glaze of some unstaring
statuette to leave revealed
only a woman in repose

without her clothes. Aloof, alone,
with nothing showing but her skin,
she keeps concealed like breath or bone
the real and second nude within.

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II

These names, this fraudulence . . .
A model, nude and necklaced on a sheet,
can beckon kings or saviours to her loins
with presto eloquence.

Ponder how beauty lets
its lovers blunder while it drums the blood.
Whatever makes us tune its silences
aloud with alphabets

escapes by pulsing on
for blunderers to miss the measure of,
lending itself to wonder like a girl
necklaced, with nothing on.

SAMUEL HAZO is director of the International Poetry Forum of Pittsburgh and professor of English at Duquesne University. Mr. Hazo's most recent book is *My Sons in God.*

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Our Universe: The Known and the Unknown

JOHN ARCHIBALD WHEELER

WHAT KIND OF A UNIVERSE do we live in? A strange one, yes. But where does the strangeness mostly lie? In the seen? Or in the unseen? Shall we fix our attention on the billiard balls as they now bat about the billiard table? Or shall we ask how the game began, and how it will end?

Who will not choose first to look about a little at the game? If then deeper questions come to mind, who shall stop our asking them?

Our universe is incomparably more interesting than any play at billiards. The formation of new stars and the explosion of old stars and the greatest variety of events, gigantic in scale and in energy, outrival the most gorgeous fireworks explosion that anyone could imagine in his wildest dreams.

A Famous Supernova

Take up the telescope and turn it on the Crab Nebula. There was no Crab Nebula a thousand years ago. At that time astronomy was at a low level in Europe. Not so in China. There astronomers regularly swept the skies and recorded their observations. In July 1054 they reported a new star. It grew in brightness from day to day. In a few days it outshone every star in the firmament. Then

✪ JOHN ARCHIBALD WHEELER presented "Our Universe: The Known and the Unknown" as the tenth annual Phi Beta Kappa-Sigma Xi address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York City on December 29, 1967. President of the American Physical Society for 1966, Dr. Wheeler is Joseph Henry Professor of Physics at Princeton University and the author of *Geometrodynamics* (1962), *Gravitation Theory and Gravitation Collapse* (1965) and *Spacetime Physics* (1966).

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it sank in brilliance, falling off in intensity from week to week. At each date the nova, or supernova as we more appropriately call it, could be compared with neighbor stars for brightness. Out of these comparisons, by our Chinese colleagues of long ago, one today has constructed a light curve. This light curve is similar to the light curve for supernova events, which through a powerful telescope one sees from time to time today in far-away galaxies.

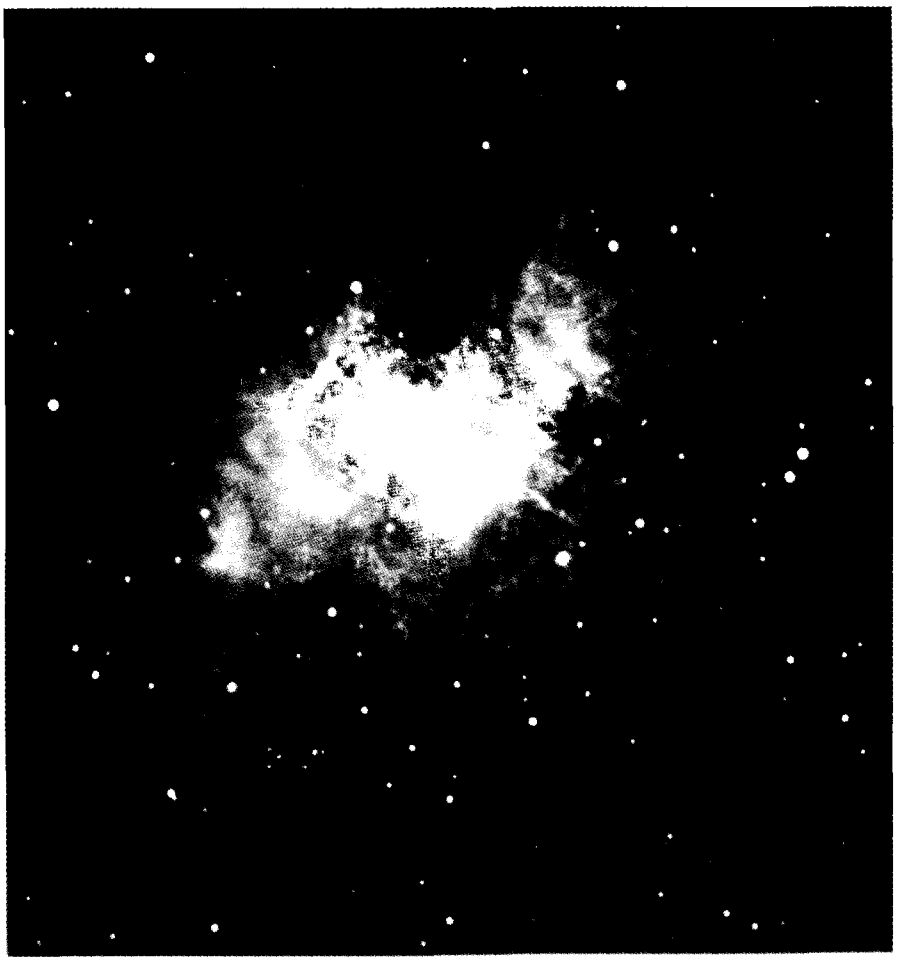

FIG. 1. The Crab Nebula. Distance: 3000 to 5000 Light Years.

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Only the great number of galaxies within telescopic reach has made it possible to observe as many of these events as one has seen today, for in an individual galaxy, such as our Milky Way, these events may be separated one from another on the average by as much as three hundred years.

Is there anything in the universe more spectacular than a supernova? The so-called quasistellar sources, or quasars, discovered in 1963 are more brilliant; but they also lie at far greater distances and are far more difficult to study. Moreover, many investigators believe that a quasar is not different in character from a supernova except in this, that it consists of many supernovae, exploding one after another with sufficient frequency to provide a more or less regular source of light. Thus there is no convincing evidence that there is anything more impressive in the universe in the way of a single dramatic process than a supernova explosion. What then can one learn from a supernova about the strange things that go on in the universe?

Of the debris from all the supernova events that have ever been seen, none has been studied in more detail than that from the explosion of July 1054. It forms an expanding luminous cloud, the Crab Nebula (Fig. 1), the boundary of which today, nine hundred years after the event, has moved out about three light years from the point of explosion. The pattern of intensity is not uniform, and for a good reason. An octopus inhabits the nebula, an octopus whose twisting, waving arms are bundles of magnetic lines of force. Centered on these magnetic lines of force, electrons move in circular and spiral tracks. The energies of these electrons exceed by many powers of ten the highest energy from any accelerator ever built or ever projected. A captive electron as it rounds its circle, first on one side of the magnetic line of force and then on the other, over and over again, does what any electron does that is driven up and down a radio broadcasting antenna over and over again at high frequency. It radiates electromagnetic energy. The electrons of the Crab Nebula radiate x rays, visible light and radio waves. By observing the pattern of brightness of this radiation, its absolute intensity, its spectral composition and its direction of

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polarization, and studying these measurements, many investigators spread among several countries have managed to unravel for us the anatomy of the arms of the octopus, the general features of the magnetic lines of force and the electron orbits, and much more besides, including the stupendous total energy set free, of the order of 10^{49} ergs.

A supernova event is clearly explosive in character. A star explodes and drives matter off into space. But what about the observed magnetic field? Its source is not far to seek: in the original star itself. There is no star that one has been able to study in any detail that does not have a magnetic field associated with it. Moreover, magnetic lines of force imbedded in ionized matter have no choice but to follow along with that matter in its motion from place to place, as a linked line of policemen is carried along in a milling mob, an originally straight line growing ever more contorted as it goes. The matter thus influences the field; but the field also influences the matter. This dynamic coupling is under active investigation in at least two centers today. To date no one has analyzed all the hydrodynamic turmoil that can go on in nine hundred years with sufficient detail to explain the structure of the octopus and his present rate of writhing. If it is difficult to account for this structure, it is because turbulence is a difficult science and hydromagnetic turbulence is a particularly difficult branch of that science.

The aftermath of the explosion thus presents complications—inessential complications, so far as we can judge, but still complications. What about the explosion itself?

Gravitational Collapse

It is the general belief that a supernova event is triggered by the straightforward astrophysical evolution of a star that has several times the mass of the sun and that is already compacted to a density a million times or more greater than the density of the sun. With further evolution it becomes still denser. A one percent decrease in all dimensions brings about a two percent increase in all gravitational forces, by reason of Newton's inverse

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square law of gravitation. Thus, increasing compaction implies increasing importance for the Newtonian forces. Ultimately the forces of gravitation overwhelm the forces resisting compression. The star commences to collapse, at first slowly, then more and more rapidly. In a predicted time of less than one tenth of a second the collapse of the core has run its course and energy has been imparted to the outer portions of the star which is still animating the octopus-like cloud of debris nine hundred years later.

What gives one any right to think that he can work out the story of the collapse with any reliability? It is one thing to analyze a star as nearly static as the sun. Is it not quite another matter to forecast the fantastic dynamics of a supernova? We know how to predict in much detail the nuclear reactions that go on in the sun and other stars, and the output of radiative energy from the surface. Can we speak with equal confidence about a star undergoing violent internal motion?

A bit of star was first brought down to earth at Alamogordo, New Mexico, in the first bomb test at 5:30 a.m. on 16 July 1945. No event in history ever gave a more dramatic example of man's understanding of how nature works. By one-shot design, without trial and error, one had achieved on earth temperatures larger by powers of ten than any seen before, temperatures that rivaled the center of the sun. A calculated device had generated a calculated pressure pulse more powerful by far than any push that ever before took place on the earth or in its interior. Events unbelievably different from anything in all past human experience were predicted, and predicted correctly.

Today at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory of the University of California at Livermore, California, there stands an impressive electronic computer. It predicts the performance of fission and fusion bombs far more complex than the Alamogordo device. Stirling Colgate, Michael May and Richard White used it in 1964 and have used it more recently to predict the hydrodynamics of a supernova. Other investigators have since made calculations confirming and extending the Livermore picture of

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what goes on. The computer puts out a kind of moving picture record of events in the star which, like events within the bomb, are beyond the power of direct inspection.

The star lends itself to simple and reliable analysis because it has spherical symmetry—a feature also of the simplest imaginable bomb. If in the one case the assembly of the material is brought about by the pressure of high explosive applied to the outside, and in the other case by the attraction of gravity exerted from the inside, this is a difference of little consequence for the computing machines and for those who program them. Nor is it of any moment that human countdown determines the time when the pressure is applied to the outside of the nuclear device while the slow course of astrophysical evolution and stellar contraction determines the time when gravitational attraction gets the upper hand within the star. The laws governing the conversion of force into motion are the same in both cases. The formulas for the flow of radiation are similar. The principles of nuclear physics are the same. No wonder, then, that workers in this field have predicted with considerable confidence many of the features of supernovae.

In the beginning the material of the star collectively moves closer together at an ever increasing rate. Soon the core outstrips the outer portions of the star in the speed of its collapse. To this shrinking core increasing gravity imparts a more and more powerful squeeze. The material of the core, through being suddenly tightly compacted, is also heated to an enormous temperature.

Continued Collapse vs. Collapse to a Neutron Star

Two very different fates befall the superdense core according as it is more massive than a certain critical figure, roughly comparable to the mass of the sun, or less massive.

A core less massive than the critical limit is stopped in its collapse by the onset of nuclear forces. They succeed in offsetting the pull of gravity, but only when the core has been squeezed to a condition comparable to the atomic nucleus itself in its density. This density is a million times or more as great as the density of

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the original star, even though that density was itself a million times or more in excess of the density of the sun—or the density of water. This hot core, this ten or a hundred kilometer sphere of nuclear matter, this giant nucleus, this encapsulated neutron star, by reason of its extraordinary temperature and its output of radiations, acts like a dynamite charge at the center of the enormously more extended remainder of the star. The sudden punch of this dynamite stops the infall of the envelope. It does more. It drives the envelope off at ever increasing speed. Seen in retrospect, the star presents us with a striking picture: first calm, then slow infall everywhere, then rapid implosion of the core, a stop with a shock, and finally explosion of the envelope.

Each layer of the envelope finds other layers in its way to impede its outward flight. The less such impedance a layer experiences, the higher is the speed that it attains. The very outermost fraction of the envelope, the most exposed one hundred thousandth of the mass, is propelled to velocities very little less than the speed of light. So highly energetic does this layer become that the individual atomic nuclei break loose from all constraints. Each begins a long travel of its own through space. Along this line Colgate and Johnson, and Ono, Sakashita and Ohyama have proposed to account for the production of the cosmic rays that course about our galaxy. Subsequently Colgate and White and other workers have found that this supernova acceleration mechanism gives a reasonable account not only for the observed spectral distribution in energy of the cosmic ray particles, but also for the order of magnitude of the absolute intensity. Fascinating connection between the world of stars and the world of particles!

In a star where the mass of the core exceeds the critical mass, then the collapse of the core under ever stronger gravitational forces is not halted as nuclear densities are reached. The matter of the core pours torrentially inward from all directions like a thousand Niagara Falls on its way down from the original dimensions to ever smaller sizes. Slow it does a little when it reaches the density of nuclear matter, as an express train lets up speed a trifle in roaring through a town, but then the speed goes higher and higher. In less than a tenth of a second the collapse is complete.

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No core is left to serve as a dynamite charge at the center of the star. No punch arises to drive out into space the remainder of the star. In that envelope a weak thermonuclear reaction may at most briefly flicker, and at most drive off a minor amount of matter. No supernova flares up, according to the calculations made to date by two groups of workers.

Two kinds of collapse we are thus driven to expect in stars that have slowly developed in the course of time to an overdense state. In one type of event, where the core exceeds the critical mass, the collapse goes to completion, and little if anything is seen. In the other kind of collapse the core, endowed with a less than critical mass, ends as a neutron star; and we see a supernova.

What right have we to talk of complete collapse? What do we know about the behavior of matter at densities above nuclear density that lets us say that there is not some further stopping point on the way in toward complete collapse? Not much, but this much: there is an upper limit to the rigidity of matter. The higher the rigidity of matter the greater the speed of sound. The maximum rigidity gives a speed of sound equal to the speed of light. No higher rigidity is permissible. Else the speed of sound would exceed the speed of light and a thoroughly tested principle of special relativity would be violated. The critical elasticity, however, simply is not enough to stop the collapse.

Collapse is inevitable, so the prediction reads. Into that prediction enters not only a principle about the upper limit to the elasticity of matter but also Einstein's theory of how gravitation acts under extreme conditions. What right do we have to assume that Einstein's great standard 1915 geometrical theory of gravitation, his "geometrodynamics," makes sense under these conditions?

Collapse of a Star as Related to the Expansion and Recontraction of the Universe

No test of Einstein's theory is more dramatic than the expansion of the universe itself, and none has a closer bearing on the phenomenon of collapse. Three other tests of relativity are better known: the precession of the perihelion of Mercury around

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the sun, the bending of light by the sun, and the red shift of spectral lines by the gravitational pull of the sun. The recognition of the fourth effect came in 1922 not from Einstein himself but from Friedmann whose predictions in the beginning Einstein even questioned: a closed universe of roughly uniform density will inevitably expand, reach a maximum dimension, and recontract, ending up with a final complete gravitational collapse as swift and complete as the tininess and swiftness of the expansion at its start. In contrast, the universe will remain forever at its present size, Einstein had always believed, and so had all the world. Einstein could not believe Friedmann's predictions although they came straight out of his own theory. Finding no escape from the calculations and unwilling to accept a conclusion so out of keeping with all expectations, Einstein reluctantly and uncertainly looked for a way to change his otherwise compelling theory and introduced into it a so-called cosmological term. Only in this way did he see any possibility to have a universe static and in accord with what he thought experience taught. Five years later Hubble found that the universe is expanding. Einstein thereafter renounced the cosmological term saying that it was the "worst blunder of his life." If Einstein had held fast to the original theory, Hubble's discovery could hardly have been regarded as any but the most dramatic test of geometrodynamics.

What possible meaning does it have to talk about the expansion of the universe? If everything expands alike—the universe, the galaxies and all our metersticks—then who is to say that any expansion at all has taken place? Metersticks, however, do not expand. The radius of the earth's orbit does not change. The size of the galaxy does not increase. These standards of measurement remain fixed. What increases is the separation from one galaxy to another. Who has not seen in his mind's eye a model for this expansion? Onto the surface of a partly inflated rubber balloon we have glued here and there a penny. We inflate the balloon. No penny changes its size. The distance between pennies increases. From a given penny the distance to a neighbor penny increases at a certain rate (Fig. 2a), and the distance to a penny twice as far away increases twice as fast. Each penny thinks itself the center

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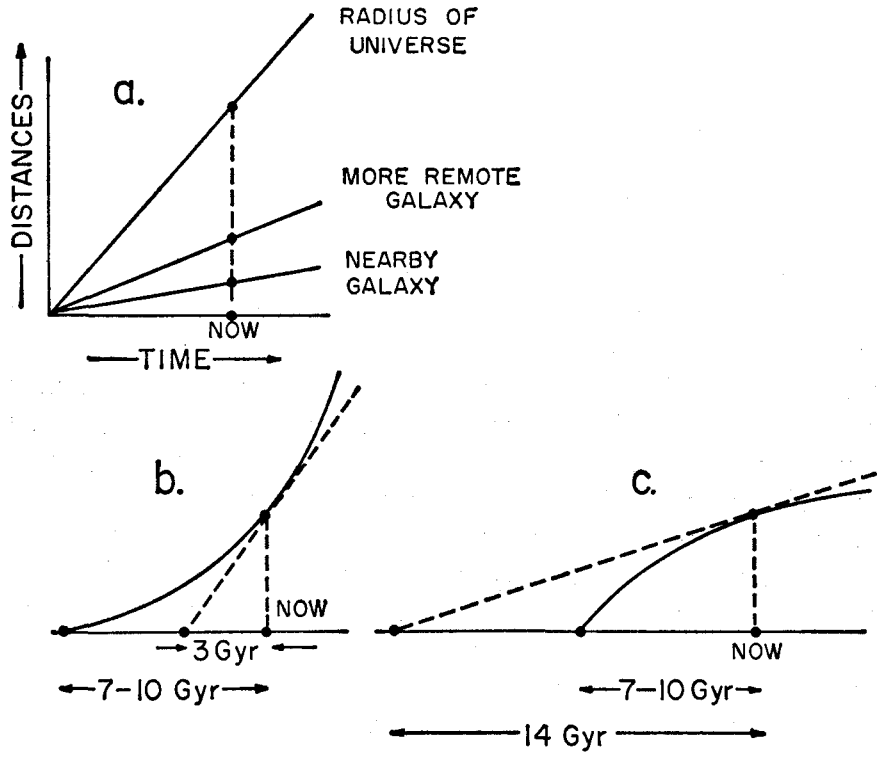

FIG. 2. Expansion of space. (a) Uniform expansion at a rate that remains constant in time. All distances have half their present values at a common time back in the past. All distances extrapolate back to zero at a still earlier but still common time. Thus a single one of these distances—for example, the radius of the universe—is an adequate indicator of how all the others vary with time. (b) Expansion at an accelerating rate; radius of the universe as a function of time. The actual time back to the start of expansion (roughly 7 to 10 $\times$ 10^9 years; estimated from calculated ages of individual stars and star clusters) exceeded in the 1930's the time estimated from the present rate of expansion of space (dashed line drawn tangent to curve; extrapolates back to zero at a "Hubble time" of about 3 $\times$ 10^9 years). Such an accelerated rate of expansion violated Einstein's standard 1915 relativity theory and led to theories of "the continuous creation of matter." (c) New figure for "Hubble time" or extrapolated time back to start of expansion (dashed line; 14 $\times$ 10^9 years) differs from figure for same quantity in the 1930's because of drastic correction in scale of astrophysical distances that took place in intervening time. Fact that this time exceeds actual time since start of expansion (roughly 7 to 10 $\times$ 10^9 years) indicates that expansion is proceeding at a decelerating rate, in contradiction to "theory of continuous creation" and in accord with Einstein's theory (effect of gravitational forces between parts in slowing down expansion of whole).

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of an expanding cloud of pennies. All are right—because the balloon itself is expanding.

If prediction, then great doubt, and then confirmation was the first cycle in the strange history of geometrodynamic cosmology, it was not the last. Einstein's theory predicted that the galaxies like a thousand rocks thrown out in space should recede from each other—but recede more slowly as time goes on because of the gravitational attraction between one and another—and eventually stop their outward flight and fall back together, at first slowly and then more and more rapidly. On this basis the rate of the expansion of the universe today should be slower than it was some billions of years (Gyr) ago. In other words the actual time back to the start of the expansion ought to be shorter than the time as one would deduce it ("Hubble time") from the present rate of expansion (Fig. 2c). In contrast the observations as they came in indicated (Fig. 2b) the opposite. Many workers grappled with this difficulty in the 1930's, and more than one lost faith for a time in Einstein's theory. This was the era of theories of "continuous creation of matter" and later the era of "the continuous creation of theories." Later it turned out that an error had been made in the basic astrophysical standard of length employed in estimating the remoteness of distant galaxies. Thus the distances were wrong but the velocities of recession, being based upon observed red shifts, were right, and consequently the old figure of three and one half billion years back to the start of expansion, based on the then currently believed figures, was also wrong. No longer can one point to any discrepancy between the predicted and observed rate of expansion. And between this predicted and observed expansion and the recontraction of the universe or the gravitational collapse of a star there is not one significant difference of principle.

The Black Hole

If gravitational collapse is as inescapable in a star as geometrodynamics is inescapable in the universe, then what would be the appearance of the collapsing core if it could be seen from afar without the interference of the supervening envelope? The hot

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core material is brilliant and at first it shines strongly into the telescope of the observer. By reason of its faster and faster infall, however, it moves away from the observer more and more rapidly. The light is shifted to the red. It becomes dimmer millisecond by millisecond, and in less than a second too dark to see. What was once the core of a star is no longer visible. The core like the Cheshire cat fades from view. One leaves behind only its grin, the other, only its gravitational attraction. Gravitational attraction, yes; light, no. No more than light do any particles emerge. Moreover, light and particles incident from outside emerge and go down the black hole only to add to its mass and increase its gravitational attraction. Has the black hole a size? In one way, yes; in another way, no. There is nothing to look at. One could, of course, imagine thrusting a meterstick toward the center of attraction until it "touched base." The powerful tidal forces, however, will tear apart that object and every other object. No conventional measurement of the dimensions is possible. Even to speak about the dimensions of the object in any conventional sense is out of the question. A light ray, however, can be shot at the black hole, not straight on, but directed far enough off center to one side or the other just barely to escape capture down the black hole—to emerge eventually into a faraway detector of photons. The "diameter" of the black hole as defined in this way is of the order of ten kilometers, the precise value depending on the mass of the core that underwent collapse. These are the long-known predictions of standard long-established theory.

What hope is there to observe a black hole? Or the neutron star from the incomplete collapse of a less massive core? The complete blackness of the one and the low candlepower expected for the other make the search for either kind of object, in isolation, almost hopeless. Try as many have, no one has detected with a telescope anything near the center of the Crab Nebula that can be identified with a residual core from that supernova explosion. Happily, isolation is not the universal condition for every star. Many have companions and often the companion is invisible. Its presence is revealed only by the to-and-fro motion of the visible component every so and so many hours, or every so and so many years. The

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amplitude of the motion and the mass of the visible component are enough to permit estimates of the mass of the invisible object. Sometimes it is only of planetary order. In other cases the mass is comparable to the mass of the sun itself, and could be compatible with interpretation as a black hole or as a neutron star. In neither case will one expect any detectable drop in the intensity of the bright component as the collapsed core sweeps across its disc. Mercury, five thousand kilometers across, causes no detectable dimming as it crosses the sun; and the effective diameter of a black hole or a neutron star is one hundred or one thousand times smaller. Schklovsky has pointed out that many visible stars eject matter and that some of this matter, falling on a neutron star, will hit with such an impact as to generate x rays in substantial quantity. Consequently Goebel and others are now looking for correlations between x-ray sources and binaries in which one component is invisible. To find such a correlation would be one thing. To test whether the x-ray source varies in time with the period of the binary will be much more difficult. An x-ray detector shot up from earth remains above the atmosphere only five minutes.

The Missing Matter

One can look for the effects of an individual black hole. One can also ask about the gravitational influence of large numbers of black holes spread about through space.

If, in the confrontation between Einstein's geometrodynamics and observed cosmology, we have been through two cycles of prediction, doubt and confirmation, are we entering a third? If his theory is correct and his further arguments are valid that the universe is closed and roughly spherical, then not only will the universe reach a maximum dimension and recontract. In addition, enough matter must now be present in the universe so that by its gravitational attraction it will be able to slow down the present expansion and bring it to a stop. The predicted density of matter exceeds by a factor between ten and one hundred the density that one is able to find in the dust and stars of galaxies—imagined to be ground up and distributed over all space. The "missing matter" is actively sought by several investigators. More than one investiga-

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tor has proposed that ionized hydrogen in substantial quantities occupies the space between the galaxies. Quite another suggestion has been advanced by Novikov and Zel'dovich: that black holes scattered through space in appreciable numbers contribute substantially to the mass of the universe. It would be difficult to cite any topic in astrophysics more challenging to the investigator than the search for the missing matter!

It is not enough to look for improved means to detect black holes and neutron stars already in existence. One wishes in addition to get signals from the act of creation of new objects. Of all signals from gravitational collapse none is more characteristic than gravitational radiation. Any mass of unsymmetrical shape changing its configuration with time will give off gravitational radiation, as Einstein showed as long ago as 1918; but only in the gravitational collapse of a rotationally flattened star can one point to a mass large enough and speeds of change great enough to provide an obvious source of gravitational radiation.

Since 1966 Weber has had a detector of gravitational radiation in operation at College Park, Maryland. In a little over a year he has detected more than ten events. Are they caused by gravitational radiation? One cannot yet say with certainty. Weber has emphasized more strongly than anyone how long the road is from detecting "events" to proving that pulses of gravitational radiation are falling on the earth; and how much farther still to establishing the source of such a pulse. The difficulties are formidable. Nevertheless, a promising start has been made with this new method to detect gravitational collapse.

Classical Prediction: Infinite Density in a Finite Time

A black hole and a normal star revolving around their center of gravity; black holes contributing a substantial part of the mass density of the universe; the formation of a black hole generating a pulse of gravitational radiation: all of these effects are external to the collapsing mass. Even more fascinating is what goes on inside it. The time scale inside is totally different from the time scale outside. According to general relativity, a standard clock far away outside and a standard clock located on the falling matter inside

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will keep time at quite different rates. As seen from outside, the black hole will live for eons. But to an observer who rides inward on a collapsing ball of matter, the density goes up faster and faster and in less than a second is predicted to go to infinity. A computer computing ahead from instant to instant the hydrodynamics of the collapse arrives at numbers so enormous that it has to stop. In effect, smoke rises from the computer. With this prediction of an infinite density, classical theory has come to the end of the road. A prediction that is infinity is not a prediction. Something has gone wrong. Of all the topics discussed at the 1965 London International Conference on Gravitation Physics no topic attracted more interest than gravitational collapse. None was considered more important and on none was there more disagreement. The issue was simple. Will minor departures from sphericity save a collapsing system from being driven to infinite densities? A first tentative approach by Khalatnikov and Lifshitz suggested that infinite density—and infinite curvature of space—would be reached only in the case of perfect symmetry. Penrose, Hawking and Misner, however, gave compelling arguments why minor departures from sphericity will not save the system from being driven to a singular state. Subsequent to the conference Hawking, Penrose and Geroch, working within the framework of Einstein's theory, giving up spherical symmetry and accepting one or another set of simple conditions on how the motion starts, have proved that a singular condition inevitably develops. Zel'dovich has arrived at the same conclusion in another way. It might have seemed an attractive picture to think of the matter in the star core, or the matter in the final stages of collapse of the universe itself, as shrinking down to a twisting, turning, writhing ball of matter of finite size—and going on from there to reexpansion. Not so. No one knows a cheap way out. The infinity is an infinity so long as one stays within the context of classical theory. Infinity is a signal that an important physical effect has been left out of account. The root of the new physics is not far to seek. It is the quantum of action.

Geometrodynamics and the Quantum

Einstein, who did so much to bring the quantum principle to

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fruition in his earlier years, disowned it in his later years. He who, along with Rutherford and Soddy, was the first to bring the concept of transition probability into the world ended up the only leading physicist who did not accept it. In his later years he hoped somehow to extract the quantum principle out of relativity rather than add it onto relativity. It would be difficult to cite today any physicist agreeing with this view. On the contrary, the opposite view is the center of one of the most important developments in theoretical physics since 1950: the quantization of Einstein's general relativity or geometrodynamics—an enterprise on which important contributions have come from Anderson, Bergmann, Deser, DeWitt, Dirac, Feymann, Higgs, Leutwyler, Misner, Pirani, Rosenfeld, Schild, Schwinger, Weinberg and many others. If the quantum principle and relativity are the two overarching principles of twentieth-century physics, then the union of these two principles that we have today in "quantized general relativity" or "quantum geometrodynamics" is a body of knowledge of exceptional interest, and nowhere more so than in the consideration of gravitational collapse. Appreciable as have been the difficulties in getting hold of the mathematics of quantum geometrodynamics, a simple conceptual difficulty cost us greater trouble in these years since Einstein's death. Relativity by treating time as a fourth coordinate comparable in quality to the other three had brought a great new unity into the description of nature. Einstein gave us spacetime in place of space. Nothing has been harder to learn than the necessity to go back from spacetime to space. Space is the dynamical entity that is the subject of discussion in geometrodynamics: three-dimensional space. Spacetime, with its four dimensions, is not the dynamical object. Spacetime provides the history of space as space changes with time (Fig. 3), but the object that does the changing is space.

Up until now one has always considered spacetime as the arena for physics. Every event, so one has come to think, past, present or future, has its place in the great never-changing structure that we call spacetime. Classical geometrodynamics fits into spacetime and in no way more clearly so than this, that all the spacelike slices through spacetime give one all the configurations that space

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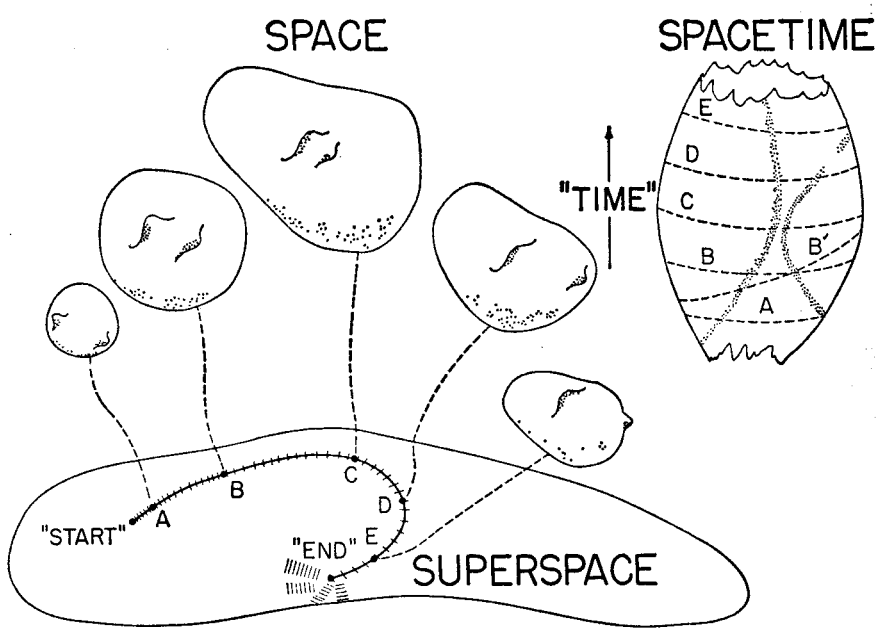

FIG. 3. Space, spacetime and superspace depicted symbolically. Upper left: Five sample configurations (the three-dimensional geometries A, B, C, D, E) attained by space in the course of its expansion and recontraction. The two lumps symbolize the curvature of space in the vicinity of two stars, other stars being omitted to simplify the diagrams. The two stars move through space as the space itself expands and recontracts. Space, actually three-dimensional, is here drawn for convenience of representation as if two-dimensional ("surface of potato"). Upper right: Spacetime, the classical history of space. A cut through spacetime, such as A, gives a momentary configuration of space.* Let the universe run through one conceivable dynamical history, the particular one indicated by this particular spacetime. This spacetime admits as spacelike slices, or as "yes" three-geometries, all the three-geometries A, B, C, D, E and many more besides, including for example a slice such as B′. Slice as one will through the given spacetime, he will be unable to get most conceivable three-geometries. They are therefore appropriately called "no" three-geometries. The "yes" three-geometries constitute a small subclass of the totality of all three-geometries.† Below: Superspace, the arena within which

* Spacetime is four-dimensional, but is shown as two-dimensional ("surface of egg") because of the limitations imposed by ink and paper. The same limitations force A, which is actually three-dimensional, to be represented in this particular diagram as if one-dimensional ("dashed curve running around egg"). The tracks of the two stars through spacetime show as two ridges ("world lines"; shaded in on "surface of egg").

† Given these "yes" three-geometries, one has the wherewithal to reconstruct the entire spacetime, or four-geometry. This spacetime is "rigid": it defines a definite time relationship between one event and another. One cannot define such time relationships nor even give any meaning to such terms as "before" and "after" when one deals with a random collection of three-geometries. In contrast, the "yes" three-geometries are distinguished by the fact that they *can* be reassembled into the particular four-geometry or spacetime that happens to be illustrated.

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can take on as it changes dynamically with time. Not so in quantum geometrodynamics. It bursts out of the bounds of spacetime. It claims a new arena for its own: superspace.

Superspace

Each "point" in superspace symbolizes and stands for an entire three-dimensional geometry. Who that is accustomed to tell a potato of one shape from a potato of another will be surprised that one point in superspace can be distinguished from another? One point, one "shape" or one "three-dimensional geometry"; another point, another shape. Millions of points, millions of shapes. What an enormous content superspace has, containing as it does every conceivable shape! Regarded in this wide domain of superspace, the classical history of space appears amazingly constricted. Only a narrow class of three-dimensional geometries comes into evidence. They are the shapes that one finds by making in one way or another a spacelike slice through a particular spacetime (Fig. 3, upper right). If these are called "yes" three-geometries, then "no" three-geometries are infinitely more numerous. Space following the deterministic rules of classical geometrodynamics is infinitely careful where it treads in superspace!

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space undergoes its dynamic evolution (actually infinite dimensional; depicted here as two-dimensional). Each "point" in superspace (such as A) stands for an entire three-dimensional geometry (also denoted by A; "potato" at upper left). The "yes" three-geometries constitute a submanifold of superspace.‡ In a classical dynamical history space remains sharply confined to such a submanifold, and the history has a sharp beginning and a sharp end. Not so in the real world of quantum physics. There the dynamics is symbolized by a wave with a finite spread. A succession of wave crests shows in the diagram. The wave character of dynamics (1) brings about fluctuations in the geometry of space at small distances, (2) prevents one from using such concepts as "spacetime," "time," "before" and "after" except in the approximation of classical physics, (3) completely alters the character of the final stages of gravitational collapse and (4) brings about an inescapable coupling to other alternative histories of the universe (waves continuing past region of superspace marked "End").

‡ This submanifold of superspace is, like superspace itself, infinite dimensional, because there is an infinity of ways in which one "yes" three-geometry can differ from another. The infinite number of the "yes" three-geometries, however, is of a lower order of infinity than the infinite number of all three-geometries. Therefore the collection of "yes" three-geometries is indicated symbolically in the diagram by a domain of dimensionality only half of that which the draftsman has been able to allocate to superspace itself—this domain being the one-dimensional smooth curve cutting across two-dimensional sheet of paper!

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Bolder is space following the principles of the real world of quantum physics. No longer does it distinguish between "yes" and "no" configurations. Instead, space recognizes a probability that may be great or small or intermediate in value for this, that, and the other three-geometry.

Classical physics in effect marks out for space a narrow zone in superspace and says, "Stay here." And why? Because the shapes, the three-geometries, the configurations that one encounters in this limited zone of superspace can be fitted together—somewhat as a child nests together his dozen colored boxes, one inside the other—to build up one single beautiful rigid classical structure, spacetime. Not so in quantum physics! No sharp "yes or no" rule there. Instead one has a probability wave propagating in superspace (Fig. 3, superspace; ripples indicated symbolically). The track of this spread-out wave follows the yes-no rule of classical geometrodynamics in superspace no better than the great broad paintbrush of a bold painter follows the thin line of a pencil.

This "spread of the wave in superspace" has decisive consequences for the nature of time, for the character of space at small distances, and for the final phase of gravitational collapse.

Consequence one: the configurations of space that occur with appreciable probability are far more numerous than can be nested together and accommodated in any one spacetime. No longer is there any such thing as "the" spacetime manifold. And with spacetime gone, time is gone. The old means disappear to locate one event ahead in time or later in time than another. The words "before" and "after" lose their meaning. There is no well-defined significance to the question, "What happens next?" Only in a certain approximation, only if one does not look too closely, does it still make sense to employ such terms as "spacetime," "time," "before" and "after."

It is a second consequence of the way the probability wave spreads in superspace that the geometry of space at small distances is not well defined. Still less does space at small distances have the ideal smooth perfection envisaged by Euclid. Instead it has a probability to have this, that or the other geometry. In other words, space *"fluctuates"* between one configuration and another. These

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fluctations in geometry are completely unobservable at the everyday scale of observations. Even at the scale of dimensions of atoms and nuclei they are totally negligible. Only when the scale of observation is still further narrowed do the fluctuations become appreciable. At the fantastically small scale of 10^{-33} cm—the so-called Planck length or critical distance—these fluctuations become all important. At these distances it is completely out of the question, according to quantum geometrodynamics, to conceive of space having the character of an ideal, God-given Euclidean perfection. Instead the geometries of space which occur with appreciable probability differ drastically from one another, each also individually being as irregular as it could well be. Space is to be compared to nothing so much as a carpet of foam spread out upon the floor. The carpet of foam looks smooth to a casual glance. But closer inspection shows that it is made of millions of tiny bubbles, and a still closer view shows that the bubbles are continually bursting and new ones being formed. Such are the predictions!

No one can consider the new predictions of standard quantum geometrodynamics about fluctuations in the geometry of space without considering the old predictions of standard quantum electrodynamics about the fluctuations in the electric field. Present throughout empty space, these electric field fluctuations perturb the motion of every electron in every atom. They alter the otherwise expected energy of the electron. In all the inspiring history of physics since World War II there has been no greater triumph than to predict these effects—and to find and confirm them in microwave measurements of fantastic precision. How then can one doubt that the predicted fluctuations also take place in the geometry of space itself—surely with important consequences for the nature and the structure of elementary particles!

No "Next" at the "End" of the Universe

If there is no such thing as "the" geometry of space at small distances, then it is also true that there is no such thing as "the" universe at large distances. The wave that propagates in superspace bursts out of the narrow zone to which classical theory assigns the history of any "universe." One can state this effect in

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slightly different words: there is no unique history that one can ascribe to the universe. Instead there is a certain probability of this, that and the other history of the universe. Normally, this probability aspect of the history, this inescapable quantum mechanical uncertainty, this indeterminism, is quite inappreciable except when one concerns himself with what goes on at the Planck scale of distances. In the initial phases of the universe, however, as well as in the final phases of gravitational collapse of stars and gravitational collapse of the universe itself, the relevant physical dimensions are driven down to values comparable to the Planck length by the very physics of the collapse mechanism itself. Under these conditions the phenomenon of indeterminism invades not merely the small scale geometry but dominates the entire collapse phenomenon itself. In the final phase of collapse one history of the universe finds itself inescapably coupled with other, alternative, histories of the universe (waves indicated in superspace in Fig. 3 near point marked "End"). To speak in these words is not to answer an old question about gravitational collapse, "What happens next?" The question, we now recognize, is devoid of content, and this for a simple reason: because the very words "before" and "after" and "next" have lost all meaning. The "new" histories of space that near "End" join onto, and are so strongly coupled to, the "old" history of the universe have no time correspondence whatsoever, one with the other. Quantum mechanical coupling by probability waves, yes; historical continuity, no. At this point of coupling any use of the word "time" in any normal sense of this word is completely out of the question.

The lack of historical continuity between one cycle of expansion and recontraction of the universe and another leads us to ask if the number of the elementary particles and their properties also differ between one such cycle and another. We are accustomed to the idea of fossil molecules and fossil atomic nuclei. Should we also accustom ourselves to the idea of fossil elementary particles? This piece of wood on which I lay my hand was made in a tree a few years ago from carbon dioxide and water. Its molecules are "chemical fossils" of recent origin. The atomic nuclei of these carbon and oxygen atoms date back to an older epoch some billions

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of years ago, the time of thermonuclear combustion in the stars. They are "nuclear fossils." In another chemical environment the carbon dioxide and the water would have joined into a molecule quite different from cellulose. Nuclear matter cooked in a different star for a different length of time would have left us more iron and less oxygen as its fossil testament. Are we likewise to expect that the properties of the elementary particles and even their numbers differ between one cycle of the universe and another?

Is it more than mere talk to say that the phenomenon of gravitational collapse ties together the world of the very large and the world of the very small? Do the particles themselves bear living witness to this connection? Is any theory of the constitution of elementary particles doomed to incompleteness that does not recognize that one type of elementary particle has one mass in one cycle of the universe and another mass in another cycle? Eddington, Dirac and Jordan long ago pointed out and Dicke and Hayakawa have since stressed anew the many signs there are in the so-called "large numbers" of a direct but mysterious connection between the world of the small and the world of the large. The characteristic dimension of an elementary particle exceeds the Planck length by a factor of 10^{20}. The estimated radius of the universe at the phase of maximum extension exceeds the characteristic dimension of an elementary particle by a factor of 10^{40}. The electric forces between two particles exceed the gravitational forces by a factor that is also 10^{40}. The estimated number of particles in the universe is of the order of 10^{80}. The four "large numbers" have evident correlations, one with another. Dirac has stressed that accident cannot have brought about such a simple connection between such enormous numbers. There must be a causal connection.

Dirac thought it natural to suppose that the large numbers change slowly with time during the evolution of the universe. In the intervening years no generally accepted evidence has ever been found for any such change with time; and for the one of the four numbers easiest to measure there is increasingly precise indication that it does not change. The observed consistency of these large numbers, and the precision with which one of them is known to stay constant, together suggest that the particles keep their prop-

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erties in any one cycle of the universe, faithful fossils from the fires of formation, constant throughout one cycle of the universe, but no more. Change with "time"? Incompatible with what we know. Change from one cycle of the universe to another? Conceivable. Compatible with what we know.

If there is no such thing as a "universal" value for the mass of an elementary particle—if the properties of a particle differ from one cycle of the universe to another—we will not be surprised. And surely someday—if Einstein's views of nature are correct—we will understand a particle, not as a foreign and mysterious interloper introduced from outside of space, but as an object "constructed out of space." We are as far today as anyone could well be from understanding the principles of construction. We can at most translate Einstein's vision into today's terms by speaking of the particle as a "quantum state of excitation of a dynamic geometry"; but how to calculate the quantum states of excitation of geometry is still beyond us. One thing, however, we know: in discussing the dynamics of "empty" space, pure quantum geometrodynamics, we never encounter any length other than the Planck distance, 10^{-33} cm. Out of this number there is no way to construct a length of anything like the dimensions of an elementary particle except through multiplication by an enormous factor. There is no place in pure quantum geometrodynamics for such a factor to come from except from what we have long been accustomed to call "initial conditions"—the initial shape of space, and its initial speed of expansion, in this cycle of the universe. Here we find ourselves driven to new ground.

Initial Conditions: The Great Unknown

Never has physics come up with a way to tell with what initial conditions the universe was started off. On nothing is physics clearer than what is not physics: equation of motion, yes; initial position and velocity of the object which follows that equation of motion, no. Who does not remember the famous statement of Laplace: "An intelligence which knew at a given instant all of the forces by which nature is animated and the relative position of all the objects, if it were in addition sufficiently powerful to analyze all of

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this information, would include in one formula the movements of the most massive objects in the universe and those of the lightest atom; nothing would be uncertain to it; and the future as the past, would be present to its eyes." The reader of 1814 was right if from the words of Laplace he anticipated that progress would be made in learning the laws of motion. But he was wrong if he thought one would uncover the rationale of the initial conditions. No more today than then does one know the how and the why of the positions and the velocities with which components of a dynamical system are first set into motion. We can imagine that space, executing its dynamics in one region of superspace, gives a universe with one number of particles and one set of particle masses; and space executing its dynamics in another region of superspace gives a universe with another number of particles and with another set of particle masses. But why then do we happen to be living in the part of superspace where we find ourselves?

No one who reflects on these transcendental issues can fail to find thought-provoking a suggestion made by Dicke, half jokingly, half seriously. What sense does it have, he asks, to speak about a universe unless that universe contains intelligent beings? But intelligence implies a brain. And a brain cannot come into being without life. As the foundation for life no biochemist sees any alternative but DNA. But DNA demands carbon for its construction. Carbon in turn comes into being by thermonuclear combustion in the stars. Thermonuclear combustion demands billions of years of time. But according to general relativity a universe cannot provide billions of years of time unless it also has billions of light years of extent. On this view it is not the universe that has dominion over man, but man who governs the size of the universe!

We are in no position to assess Dicke's suggestion today. One commentary, however, will occur to everyone. If the necessity for the existence of mind governs the scale of the cycle of the universe, and if in turn the scale of the universe governs the number and sizes of the particles, then it is fruitless to think of a simple magic formula that would give once and for all the mass of the proton and the mass of the electron!

One takes up such suggestions and allows himself such com-

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mentaries not in any hope that they will provide answers, but only with the thought that they will suggest to us how deep are the questions that confront us—and how we may perhaps go about formulating the issues. Deep though they are, and almost theological in character though they seem, they are still questions that we could not and would not pose as we do if the concept of superspace were not at hand as framework for the discussion.

Superspace, the arena in which space lives out its dynamics: no consequence of the union of the quantum principle with Einstein's geometrodynamics is more revolutionary, and none seems more likely to have consequences for all of physics, from elementary particle physics to the dynamics of the universe. The "wave equation" that Schroedinger gave the world in 1925 was simple and definite, and out of it he quickly found the energy levels of the hydrogen atom. Little did he—or anyone—at first realize that his equation was a time bomb in the heart of physics. The explosion it produced gave us such revolutionary concepts as "probability amplitude," "probability current," the "uncertainty principle" and "complementarity." Schroedinger himself once said that if he had known what it was all going to lead to, he would have had nothing to do with it, only to be told by Bohr, "All of us, however, are grateful to you!" How much of present-day chemistry, metallurgy, nuclear physics and communications science would be beyond our grasp without Schroedinger's equation!

A Time Bomb with Revolutionary Consequences

If the Schroedinger equation was a time bomb, is quantum geometrodynamics a super-time bomb? Already one can see revolutionary consequences: superspace; the failure of the idea of time at small distances; quantum fluctuations in the geometry of space; "coupling between alternative histories of the universe" in the final stages of gravitational collapse. But the questions we have been led to ask about initial conditions seem destined to force us into still more revolutionary concepts. At the heart of quantum geometrodynamics lies a dynamic equation, what one might perhaps call the "Einstein-Schroedinger" equation, when remaining uncertainties about the exact details of its form are cleared up.

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This equation, like every equation, admits of initial conditions. Proper specification of the initial conditions, however, is out of the question for anyone who limits his attention to one dynamical history of the universe. By necessity he has to give probability amplitudes for a wider variety of possible alternative configurations for space before he can predict with the help of the wave equation the evolution of the dynamics throughout the rest of superspace. What possible sense does it have to specify initial conditions in this way? One cannot ask questions such as these without recognizing that the problem of initial conditions, new form though it has in quantum geometrodynamics, poses issues that are as far beyond our reach today as they were at the time of Laplace.

If these issues about initial conditions are "theological" in character, then also one cannot escape the fact that theological considerations have their influence on human actions. In 1952 an acquaintance, traveling through one of the greatest of the nations of South Asia, noting how many children were dying whose lives might have been saved by smallpox innoculations, could not forbear to express his dismay to the Minister of Education. That official could not have been less concerned. "After all, what difference does it make; they will be reincarnated anyway." My colleague, Frederick Mote, a distinguished student of Chinese history and philosophy, in a recent address attributed the difference between Chinese outlooks and sense of values and those of the West to nothing more central than their different view of cosmology. That cosmology, he noted, has in it no creation and no creator; what goes on is "a process in which all stages are simultaneously present"; what governs it is "a set of logical, not of chronological relationships." If we want to see how also in the West considerations beyond physics color outlooks, we have only to turn to the words of William James: "Actualities seem to float in a wider sea of possibilities from out of which they were chosen; and *somewhere,* indeterminism says, such possibilities exist, and form part of the truth."

One cannot touch thus peripherally on "theology" without recalling the great debates of long ago. One cannot forget that they eventually opened the door to modern science, which demands that

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we communicate with one another in understandable words, free of all mysticism. When the Bishop of Paris ruled in 1227 that it is wrong to deny God's power to create as many worlds as He pleases, he did not stop controversy; he augmented it. A hundred years later, "one of the most devastatingly critical thinkers of all ages," William of Ockham, stressed that "God's will remained the final arbiter; but just because it could not be circumscribed or defined it was necessary to look to what could be known . . . by measurement and observation . . . as the foundation of practical knowledge." Gordon Leff goes on to remind us that, "As a result, physics, mechanics, mathematical calculations and geometry all reached a new flowering during the 14th and 15th centuries."

We have looked at the billiard balls batting about the billiard table. We have found ourselves asking new questions about the beginning and the end. Thanks to the labors of many workers in the days since Einstein's death, we have in our hands in quantum geometrodynamics a new conceptual framework of unprecedented scope to deal with these questions, a structure built out of the two overarching principles of twentieth-century physics. As we explore the new and revolutionary content of this conceptual framework, we do so resolved to hold fast at all costs to the centuries-old scientific tradition of the West.

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David Riesman: An Exchange with Brazilian Students

Every summer since 1962 a group of selected Brazilian university students has been brought to the United States in one of the many unpublicized, short-term experiments in international living. After a spell with Portuguese-speaking families in Massachusetts, they come to the Harvard Summer School for several weeks of lectures and discussion on the American economy, polity, society. Several summers ago they were bivouacked with Peace Corps trainees bound for Brazil. Last summer they were joined by students from Spanish-speaking America. After the Harvard weeks, they take an abbreviated tour of the East. I lecture to the group every summer on changes in American society, and there is simultaneous translation. Then, during a coffee break, the students divide into groups and write out questions which are then read aloud and put to me in translation; it is a transcript of these questions and answers that follows.

The general theme of my entire talk was the development in the United States of a society only partially centralized and still radically divided along ethnic, religious, racial and class lines—but a society nevertheless with an increasingly widespread national upper-middle-class style spread by college education, the mass media, and occupational, social and geographic mobility. As the questions suggest, I sought to counter the common impression of a monolithic North America, dominated by a single social group. Typifying this attitude were the Brazilian students who at a luncheon had spoken about the untrammeled power of the American

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upper bourgeoisie. When I remarked that our upper bourgeoisie had not been able to elect a President to their own liking since Herbert Hoover, excepting Eisenhower, and they weren't too fond of him either, the students immediately responded that because the rulers hadn't liked President Kennedy they had killed him. (A view, of course, not unknown here in the United States, but far less common.) The group I spoke to included students from both Catholic and secular universities, some studying law and some, economics, others hoping to be teachers or agronomists—a diverse and lively group. Obviously the political reaction in contemporary Brazil has not turned them into conservative conformists; quite the contrary. Accompanied as they are by bilingual Brazilian and American faculty who act as discussion leaders and interpreters, the students have always seemed to me free-spoken and expressive, although in earlier summers some of the questions were a good deal more aggressive than those recorded here. It may be that some of the sharper and more hostile questions were on this occasion asked privately, or had been tried out on other speakers who had preceded me.

What I sought to do in my main talk was to introduce some degree of concreteness about the United States, even while introducing also some very large generalizations. Thus, in trying to explain the very limited role of an American aristocracy, I pointed out that the American military were seldom of upper-class outlook and hauteur, illustrating this by referring to General Eisenhower's pleasure at playing golf with Coca-Cola executives and Chevrolet dealers—no snob he. I spoke of higher education as releasing Americans from provincialism; but explained how, on the other hand, some right-wing students reacted against the liberal climate of colleges by joining right-wing groups and reading the National Review. *I tried to give a quick sense of the speed of the Negro Revolution, especially in the Negro colleges.*

And to give a sense of scale, I observed that the intensity of ethnic feeling was moderated as one went west from New England, with the Irish Catholic in San Francisco not coming from Ireland but from Boston; with the Italian Catholic not coming from Sicily but from Brooklyn; and so with the other ethnic groups. In conclusion, I referred to the work of S. M. Lipset (who would be

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addressing them later) on the class differences, the country over, of Democrats and Republicans, in order to raise questions about the common view that American political parties are pretty much alike. Thus I laid out a kind of smorgasbord, from which various themes might be selected for questioning. Here are their questions and my answers, sparingly edited.

DAVID RIESMAN

Q. What is the basic relation between political and religious fundamentalism in American society?

A. This is a very acute and intelligent question. There is some religious fundamentalism in North America that is very otherworldly and nonpolitical or even antipolitical. Mennonites, Amish and other groups are pacifist, live in colonies that have as little as possible to do with the great society, and they do not take part in any movements of political fundamentalism. But many of the larger fundamentalist groups in America translate biblical literalism into political reaction. In the South, for example, they find biblical support for racism and discrimination, and general hostility to the modern world.

There is also Catholic religious and political fundamentalism. I can illustrate this by remarking on the fact that many of the Young Americans for Freedom are Catholic, and they go to Catholic universities which, since the Vatican Council, have become increasingly liberal, especially some of the women's colleges and the Jesuit ones. In these colleges they meet a Catholicism that scares them, that is not the Catholicism they learned from their grandmothers and their parish priests. So they conclude that the Jesuits are Communists, and they take part in pro-right-wing activities, against the "subversive" non-American Catholic church.

The election of President Kennedy in 1960 resulted, I believe, in the union for the first time of Protestant and Catholic fundamentalism. Prior to that election, Protestant fundamentalists regarded Catholics and Jews, Mexicans and other such people, as somehow not quite American, but the election of a liberal Catholic was very offensive to many Catholic fundamentalists in North America. It is said that more priests voted for Nixon, the Republi-

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can opponent, in the election of 1960, while more nuns were for Kennedy.

The Protestant fundamentalists, who were against Kennedy *because* he was Catholic, got together in the John Birch Society, the right-wing group, with Catholics who were against Kennedy because he was not a sufficiently violently anti-Communist Catholic (although I thought him violent enough, as in Cuba), and against him, because as a Catholic, he was a "bad" Catholic, having gone to Harvard rather than to a Jesuit college or Notre Dame.

Many bishops and cardinals, like Cardinal Spellman, opposed him. He was sympathetic, for example, to birth control. Thus, religious and political fundamentalism has now joined the Protestant and Catholic groups together in a dangerous alliance against the more emancipating tendencies of liberal Protestantism and liberal Catholicism. For example, to a traditionalist Catholic in North America, the folk mass, with guitars and singing, that my wife and I attended a few months ago at the College of the Holy Cross, a Jesuit college near here, would seem radical and subversive, as if Catholicism had been turned over to the hippies.

And in the Protestant churches one finds the same division along sectarian lines. Maybe I'll come back to that another time, but that's enough for now.

Q. We would like the speaker to explain in greater detail why the Americans find it so difficult to understand and analyze the socialist world and other kinds of societies. What is the basis of semiparanoid anti-Communism, and the possibility of the majority of Americans supporting a war of extermination in Vietnam?

A. A fair amount of what I have written in recent years has been devoted to trying to answer this question. In my book of essays, *Abundance for What?*, for instance, I have a number of discussions, one of which is called "Containing America." Part of what I said in the last comment is also relevant here. Socialism and Communism are identified and are seen as godless, thus adding religious zeal to political incomprehension.

Part of the attitude of anti-Communism, however, reflects the ethnic divisions within America, which I spoke about earlier. The

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newer waves of immigrants established their Americanness, by being ultra-American. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin was an Irish Catholic who wanted to show that the true patriots were the Catholics and not the earlier Protestant Yankees, who included people like Alger Hiss and others who were alleged to be pro-Communist.

Part of the response of Americans to Communism is due to misunderstanding of our own society. Americans believe we have a free enterprise society. This is mythology. We have a society with a great deal of government control, without which our businessmen would not know how to get rich. We have a society with a good deal of social welfare, not nearly enough, but a good deal. And, correspondingly, the individual American who thinks he did it on his own, that he's a self-made man, is a fool. But it's a common foolishness, and reflects an inability to comprehend a society that makes different statements about itself—although many North Americans have come to see that large bureaucratic societies may have a good deal in common, whether they are called the socialist Soviet Union, or the supposedly capitalist United States.

Much of this paranoia reflects an attribution to foreigners of the domestic discontents of the sort I mentioned earlier. My guess is that the rioting of Negroes in our cities increases paranoid anti-Communism. Anything incomprehensible, troublesome, or disorderly, gives many Americans the feeling of being lost in an alien world, and the curious thing about North Americans is the vacillation between feelings of omnipotence and feelings of being alone in a shrinking world, a world that is socialist, nonwhite, less developed. I think that cryptic answer again has to do duty for a much fuller discussion.

Q. Given the isolation in which the older generation is placed, what are the perspectives of youth for the future, and what is the relationship between the range of values that youth adheres to and that of the older generation?

A. Those of you who speak Spanish will know the expression *muy macho*, or *machismo*. One of the great differences between the generations is in the degree of polarization of the sexes, and although

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this is uneven among the young, it is clear that the young threaten the old by moderating the boundaries of what is supposed to be masculine and feminine, whether in the style of hair or in attitude. Young men in North America today, in our better colleges, are more passive in their manner, less aggressive, less concerned with becoming big shots, or "shots" at all. Young women are less cute, pretty, and smiling, and are no longer saying to all men, "What you are about to say entrances me." This shifting of boundaries, this blurring of boundaries—so that in hippie colonies one often cannot tell even from the front who is a boy and who is a girl—is very threatening to the old.

This is connected with the fact that the whole issue we discussed a moment ago of devout anti-Communism is not interesting to most young students, even the rather conservative ones, and what is going on today in the United States could be called a war between the generations, more serious than in the past, with an adult backlash against youthful attitudes and values that threaten older people's sense of the rightness of things.

Now you ask the question what will happen. I can imagine, as I said to one of you in the coffee break, the activities of the young electing as our next President the right-wing Governor Reagan of California. If we live long enough, if the United States does not exterminate itself and the rest of the world, as I often fear may be the case, I can imagine a much more benign North American society, less aggressive, less ethnocentric, more humane, more humanistic, less greedy. I see this already among the best young people, but the best young people by their very lack of aggressiveness are poor politicians and poor organizers: in fact, for all organizations, including their own, they have contempt.

If one watches student organizations, one sees that, contrary to earlier socialist and Communist groups in American student movements, they are nonorganizations. They are anarchic. They are more concerned with feeling than with effectiveness, with expression of self than with result. Thus it may well be that the student movements will not succeed in changing America except in the opposite way.

Q. (Inaudible.)

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A. I understand your question very well, and many of the young people ask it of themselves. I think in my answer you will get the question.

The question is a common one that the young people ask of themselves. Are they radical now only because they are supported by their parents, they don't have families, they don't have to make a living? What will happen when they have to make their peace with society, will they then become like their parents?

Now let me say in the first place that the young people I'm talking about are not all the young people, by any means. Mr. Richard Wright, here from the University of Texas, can tell you about the young men at Texas A&M University, and they're not like the young people I'm describing now; they're much more old-fashioned in their style. And there are many parts of the United States where the older styles survive.

All geological strata coexist in North America. But the young people I was talking about who are at the cutting edge of society, who are in the vanguard, are choosing careers that allow them to remain radical. Rather than becoming businessmen, they reject business; they become, for example, computer programmers where they can be beatniks, work two hours a day, get enough money, yet be so rare that they can't be fired. They are becoming school teachers in the slums; they are following service callings that are in great demand, don't pay terribly much but allow them to manage. Their wives work at crafts, or teaching, and, I think, they will not necessarily fit into society in the way that the similar students have to do in Japan, where after a period in Zengakuren, the student movement, they go into the big corporations.

Q. Are the existing ethnic problems of this country indicative of the crisis in the North American society?

A. By good luck we have with us today a guest of mine, Professor Ernst Borinski, a sociologist who has been teaching for many years at a Negro college, Tougaloo, in Mississippi, and if he's willing, I'd like to have his comment on this.

PROFESSOR BORINSKI: I think they are indicative of the crisis in

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American society for the very reason that in America, in the present time, we have an increasing awareness of the position of the disprivileged people in the society. The American society, Dr. Riesman pointed out, is a society with mass communications so that every citizen now learns a rhetoric of what he can expect from this society. Certainly the Negro came in the vanguard. He was the most disprivileged one, and he appealed very clearly and very forcefully to the conscience of America, that is, that he, as visible, as a man of color, is excluded from all the affluence of society. However, I repeat, he was the vanguard—that means that once this trend got into motion, the total group of the disprivileged make their claims in society, as we find now.

I may just mention a decision of the United States District Court in Washington where suddenly the judge has decided that we have not only color segregation, but also a kind of social segregation that we have to break down. This is a general feature in American society now that the disprivileged make their claim with all means available, in terms of judicial decisions, in terms of demonstrations and action, in terms of the hope that the American society can fulfill their needs.

PROFESSOR RIESMAN: One footnote to that. One ominous footnote is that the racial and ethnic tensions in North American society are so great that, as in other societies, the effort to unify the country against foreign enemies is always a possibility.

Q. Doesn't the speaker think that the process of nationalization is a source of increasing massification and standardization of the American culture, which tends to be imposed on all areas under the economic influence of the United States? Why is this so, or why would this be so?

A. I would think that many North Americans, and most North American intellectuals, would also think that nationalization means standardization. But I think this is a superficial view. It is the view from on top. It is that of the aristocrat who looks at peasant cultures in all their variety and says, "How glorious, how different, how interesting." But for the peasant within those cultures, the

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prison of his tradition is very considerable. The deprovincialized American has much more available to him in the way of choosing who he is, what he cares about, than ever before. The mass media do convey certain themes that are omnipresent in terms of implicit choices in favor of youthfulness or happiness, or at least the appearance thereof. In contrast with these implicit messages, the pressure of the media to buy one or another brand of car, or one or another brand of politician, is much less important. It is in the more implicit themes that some pressure for standardization may occur, but, in other respects, apparent uniformity hides great difference.

People are making their own selection from what is available. If one looks at young people, one finds many different kinds of music being played and many more student musicians than even ten or fifteen years ago. One finds people selecting from the whole range of world music what their musical interests are. Hindu music, Japanese music, seventeenth-century Baroque music, contemporary electronic music, all the different forms of folk and folk-rock music are available.

At the lowest edge this is pretty uniform. Among more differentiated strata, it is increasingly less uniform.

Outside North America, of course, the weight of this culture is very great, as the question suggests. And it seems pressed down on people rather than a smorgasbord, a supermarket from which they can make choices.

I can give you an amusing example—a book has recently been published called *Those Peculiar Americans: The Peace Corps and American National Character* which describes the experience of the first Volunteers to go to the Philippine barrios. These young Americans thought themselves different. They were against what was popular. They were not ethnocentric. They went to the Philippines thinking the Filipinos were superior, more human, more real, more natural, more authentic, than we dehydrated North Americans. And what did they find? An interest in rock 'n roll, in Hollywood movies, color prejudice, all the things they'd left behind. It was quite a shock.

Q. In a capitalist society, in which the heights of society are oc-

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cupied by the upper bourgeoisie, is it not improper to confuse this upper bourgeoisie with the middle class, overvaluing the role of the aristocracy which is a residual class? We would also like to know what dominance the industrial-military complex exercises in American society as asserted by General Eisenhower in the United Nations.

A. This is a sophisticated question and it deserves a longer answer than I have time for. Let me come first to the second part of the question. I think that, in foreign affairs, this country increasingly comes under the domination of the military, and we now lack, to my horror and sadness, a general like Eisenhower or de Gaulle who can come in and make peace—a conservative general. But this power of the military reflects not only, and perhaps not even especially, large American industry outside the defense contractors to whom I'll come in a minute. It reflects the paranoia about Communism and the religious and political fundamentalism I spoke about earlier, which is a mass phenomenon. It should be remembered that North America is full of people from countries that because of either Catholicism or their present situation are anti-Communist. Polish steel workers in Buffalo are violently anti-Communist. More so probably than the steel managers, who have had more experience of the world, who are more liberal culturally, if not economically.

The difficulty with C. Wright Mills's view, the power elite view, is that it makes the American situation almost too easy. Mills implies that if we could get rid of the haute bourgeoisie, the small interlocking group of military and industrial leaders, we would be a happy socialist republic. I wish it were true. It is far from the case. Big industry is very divided. The military contractors, of course, and their unions, which have many votes, are powerful and increasingly so. I think of Senator Jackson from the state of Washington as the senator from Boeing Aircraft, but not only from the managers—the managers could get other jobs, and they have bank accounts—but from the workers of Seattle who are extremely right-wing in politics, whatever they may be in economics.

I think Eisenhower's warning was right, but I don't think it is the result of any easy conspiracy or can be easily dissolved.

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Q. How does the speaker look upon the increasing movement of protest against obsolete structures by American youth as evidenced by the protest song, the beatnik and other movements, now that the influence of American youth in the world is an undeniable fact? Would you not think this is a danger for the United States?

A. This movement of students, as Professor Borinski pointed out, is made nationally visible by television, and however unpolitical the students, their ability to manipulate the mass media is very great. They call up the networks and say, "Tomorrow we'll have a protest, please come." But one should not overestimate from that the actual number of student activists. As everywhere, activism is the work of a minority, but a minority that (like guerrilla fighters, to whom I often compare them) has support both from young faculty members and from many fellow students who, however, would not themselves protest or become beatniks.

I think it important to separate the two groups, the protesters and the beats. Both appear alienated from American society and from the older generation. But the student activists still hope, still believe that something can be done, hence they are active. They feel that America could become a utopia. They want to correct injustice, as Professor Borinski mentioned. The beatniks and hippies regard all that as square, as outdated, as too active, too assertive. As one friend of mine at the University of California at Berkeley has said, the great enemy of political activism among students is the cult of drugs. In thinking about the effect of these movements, one must separate the two. They do share the same songs. They do share some of the same rejections. But they differ very much in the degree to which they are willing to work to make the society closer to heart's desire.

On the whole, both kinds of students, the activist alienated, and the withdrawn and passive alienated, are to be found in the major universities. It is the sign of a good university that it has protests, and of a bad and discreditable university to have apathy.

Q. Do you think that, different from the United States, in Latin America the ideological parties have or should have greater importance than pragmatic parties?

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A. Before I answer that question, let me return to the question just before this, which asked were the student movements a danger to the United States. I think I was surprised that a Latin American student would see as a danger what I regard, on the whole, as a positive development, but I can see that some would. It is a danger in the way I spoke of, namely, the adult backlash, the right-wing reaction to the students. The student movement in itself seems to me to hold more promise than danger, if one takes it only in its own terms, and not in terms of the violence it provokes on the Right, and among the old.

Now to come to the second question about ideological and pragmatic parties, I believe that North Americans have made an ideology of pragmatism and regard themselves as unideological when this is not the case. We have an unconscious ideology, an ideology of efficiency, of realism, of moderation, which is seldom in the actual situation pragmatic, but believes itself to be pragmatic, gets the job done without asking is this job to be done.

I think our politics are more ideological than they appear. I also think that our politics are becoming more ideological. In 1964 in the Johnson-Goldwater campaign, we had a true ideological conflict, and, to speak to the earlier question about the haute bourgeoisie, it divided the haute bourgeoisie for the first time. Many big businessmen, enlightened capitalists in metropolitan centers, cultivated, well educated and liberal, broke away from the Republican party to vote for Johnson in the mistaken hope that he would bring peace, and in the less mistaken hope of domestic progress. Many Republican small businessmen, which means that they're small in their enterprise, but often extremely rich, oil men and such, voted excitedly and ideologically for Goldwater.

Thus, ideological politics does exist in North America. I think it has its dangers, but I would also say that to move people, to make the changes Professor Borinski spoke of, to make our society less unjust, to bring the war to an end, to change our relations to the Third World, these pragmatic things, these sensible things as I would regard them, are not likely to be achieved simply by being sensible, and without passion.

Q. If the tendency in American universities is toward cosmopoli-

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tanism, how do you explain the fact that although forty-three percent, that is, of their age group, are university students, there still exists the cult of Americanism, and the fact that, alongside the increasing efficiency of American society, one finds so many and such great indices of crime, and also racial discrimination superimposed on class discrimination?

A. On the blackboard here is shown the pattern of American higher education, which suggests that this large proportion who go on to something called college do not all go to the same sort of institution.

There are great differences of level, of cosmopolitanism, of preparation and sophistication, enormous disparities. I have also said that even in the junior college, the least enlightening of institutions of higher education, students are moved somewhat away from their provincial bigotry. They will not be criminals, they will not be racists, they will be nice guys. But they will be very American, dis-attached from their locale, the more firmly to be attached to what I spoke of as the great American parish. The tragedy is that detribalization results in nationalization before it results in internationalization. Hence, the very number of people going on to college and university is, it seems to me, one source of excessively patriotic, overpatriotic, Americanism. Partly indeed it is a kind of idealism, a dangerous idealism.

The other thing I would say is that these young people only now are beginning to go to college in these vast numbers. The change has been dramatic even in the last six or seven years. Let me explain why this is so.

If you're in a poor working-class district, and you go to the local high school, it would have been the case twenty years ago that hardly any of your classmates even thought of college. It was strange, distant, expensive and for highbrows, not for the likes of you and me. Today it's become harder in many high schools not to go than to go. Everybody goes who isn't completely idiotic, or who hasn't already married at the age of fifteen and had too many children. Now people are drawn on to college every year in vastly increasing numbers, so that college-building has become one of the great boom industries of America.

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The older generation has had much less education and much poorer education, even if they've spent the same amount of time in school, and the young yet don't run America.

Q. Considering that the major part of the American population is young, and considering that at present American society is characterized by a pluralistic equilibrium, that is, a society divided into classes, can you, as a sociologist, foresee radical political and social transformations, that is, a passage from equilibrium to a pluralism with dialogue or with interaction perhaps?

A. American society . . . is a society that is shaped not like a pyramid but like an egg. It is maybe the first large society in history where the poor are a minority. To help the poor it is necessary to appeal to the conscience, to the courts, to the mass media. It is not possible to become elected by the votes of the poor. There aren't enough poor. The American standard of living, the famous American standard of living, has left many millions behind, but these millions may number at very most a fifth of the society, and then in relative terms. Polarization in terms of rich and poor is not likely; there are too many who are rich in world terms.

Polarization in terms of the values we have been discussing may be more likely. Polarization between the ethnocentric and the world-minded. Partly this is an issue of class, but it cuts across class. Polarization between the necrophilic, the destructive, and the humane and loving. This too cuts across class. I can see many outcomes from North American society, and at the moment few of them happy.

Q. The speaker asserted that party affiliation is not free of a class problem. We would like clarification. Is there economic or racial segregation in the parties, and in which party and which state? What do those people do who find themselves segregated? Do they seek out another party?

A. I think I can say a little more about American styles of politics, by answering the question indirectly. If you go to a small town in the northern United States, you will find that people say, "We're

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all Republicans on Main Street." They mean by that, that in the business and professional classes, everybody thinks he is a Republican, or at least he did before Goldwater. The fact is that public opinion surveys show that even in the professional and business classes as many as a third may be Democrats. But each of these in a small town thinks that he's the only one!

The voice of the community's business and professional classes is Republican in the northern states, especially outside New England. The working class is much less polarized this way. We have many workers who vote Republican because they identify with the business class, or because of ethnic identification: they do not want to vote for the Democratic party, which is the party that they may identify with the Negroes, or the Jews, or the Italians. So they vote Republican. They are much like the Tory working class in Britain.

But each party in most parts of the country seeks all the votes it can get, and there is never any clear segregation of this sort.

Senator Joe McCarthy, of Wisconsin, whom I mentioned, the right-wing protofascist leader, who was for the working class on economic issues, was a Republican. Senator Eugene McCarthy, now in the Senate, from Minnesota, also Catholic, also Irish, one of the most enlightened critics of the war in Vietnam, one of the most liberal senators, is a Democrat. So one sees constant crosscutting here. Only in the South, and this is changing fast, has the Democratic party been the "club" of the white man, and Negroes used to vote Republican for the party of Abraham Lincoln who emancipated the slaves.

The Negroes in Mississippi have run in the last election an independent party, the Black Panther Party, a black nationalist party, but I understand that this fall they'll be running in the Democratic primaries and will win a number of local victories.

The right wing in the South is increasingly leaving the Democratic party for a right-wing Republican party. The excluded people in most of America do not go to third parties, but to no party: rather than trying to find another vehicle, they do not take part.

On the whole, in other words, our parties fuzz and blur class lines and, increasingly, ethnic lines and religious lines, and, at least at election time, ask everybody to join.

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Q. The speaker emphasized the great activity of the young conservatives . . . on account of their articulate defense system. We would like to know if neo-Nazi tendencies exist among North American students, what are their characteristics, and how do the youths with the progressive and liberal position react to the conservative groups?

A. That's not a very easy question to answer. The right-wing students, it seems to me, are characterized by a fear of their own compassion. They have an attitude of hatred for the oppressed, because I think they fear being unmanly and showing pity. They will carry banners to cheer bombing of Vietnam, or police action against rioting Negroes . . . and they will, in general, have an attitude of caustic individualistic destructiveness.

Whether one can speak of them as neo-Nazis is not easy to say because they are not that attached to the nation in its governmental form as distinguished from its military form. They are not statist. They are brutal, and in this sense they resemble neo-Nazis, but they lack the organized coherent philosophy of, let us say, Prussian or Bavarian statist outlooks. They are against poor people, they are against un-American people, but they haven't organized this into a *Weltanschauung*.

How do the liberal students and the radical left students react to them? On the whole, by ignoring them. The campuses on which one group is strong are likely to be those on which the other group is weak. Only rarely can one see pitched battles between these groups of students. One *can* see them. One can see at Berkeley, for example, right-wing, fraternity-oriented, sports-oriented, old-fashioned American students occasionally getting angry with the leftist students who dominate and are most visible on the campus, and wanting to beat them up. But these encounters are rare, surprisingly rare, partly because the right-wing students tend to be apathetic, possibly because the United States is going their way. While they object to the leftist students, that only periodically agitates them. The leftist students' concern is not with the neo-Nazi types, but with national policy, with the war in Vietnam, with the invasion of the Dominican Republic, with national issues of this sort.

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Q. Considering the affirmations of the speaker, that the middle-class Negro is regarded by people who have racial prejudices as if he were a lower-class Negro, would it not be true that today's social conflicts are assuming, then, connotations of class struggle instead of being simply racial?

A. Consider the case of a small southern town in Georgia or Alabama or Mississippi. In such a town, there are poor whites, and poor Negroes, and a very small number of middle-class Negroes, professionals or civil servants, undertakers, insurance men, ministers. The well-to-do upper-class whites in this town are not threatened by the Negroes, are quite willing, with whatever limitations of horizon, to have social relations with upper-class Negroes, to entertain the Negro minister, the Negro college professor, the Negro physician. The lower-class whites are threatened by this alliance, because all they have is their whiteness. Many of the battles over segregation in southern communities have been fought between the two white classes, and since the white poor in the South are both more violent and more numerous than the white rich, because the South is the poorest part of America, these battles have often resulted in the victory of the white racist poor over the white less racist rich. The white racist poor are the ones who refuse to make a distinction, and whose alliance with the Negro poor is thus prevented. This used to be in the interest of the white rich, but is no longer, since the white rich are at least equally as threatened by the violence and disorder of the white poor as they are by integration.

So I think that while on the national scale, the question has relevance, and that in a way the race conflict is our form of class conflict, it should still be borne in mind that the Negro is a small minority of the poor and that the poor white is as much the victim of, as also the occasion for, race conflict.

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And What Is Green?

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL

Is anything so bright a green
As moss in some damp spot,
And what so blue, opaque and blue,
As glass against the fog?

And what is green and what is not
And how is one to know
When mergings flow in sun-struck rain
To iridescent bow?

Color is much concerned with damp
And all the world we see
Is moisture pressed beyond its strength
Into diversity.

✪ LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL is a free-lance editor and literary adviser. Her latest book of poems is *The Blood That Is Language.*

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The Petrified West and the Writer

DAVID LAVENDER

As a believer in the literary possibilities of a Yoknapatawpha County in the high plains or Rocky Mountains, I sometimes despair. Can literature about the American West ever be liberated? I am not referring to the historiography of the frontier, where notable work is being done by such practitioners as Ray Allen Billington, Dale L. Morgan, William Goetzmann, and others. I am not referring to novels like Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* that are laid in the West but are not essentially of the West. What I mean are the foredoomed attempts to clear away the connotations clustering around the word "Western" and, that done, to bespeak the frontier's realities in its native idiom—to create, in short, a Literature, capital "L." There is a seemingly immovable barrier, in spite of what novelists A. B. Guthrie, Jr., and Wallace Stegner, poet Thomas Hornsby Ferril and a few others have shown can be done.

The blockade, a familiar monolith vaster than Hoover Dam, is the stereotype now known as the horse opera. Its geographic heart is a warped tele-vision of that dry, luminous land where the high plains lap up against the foothills of the Rockies. Its characters are the people who are reputed to have once lived there. The stereotype is so pervasive that to most readers "American Indian" does not suggest the canoe people of the Eastern forests, the sedentary pueblo dwellers of the Southwest, or the amazing woodworkers of the Northwest; it means, invariably, the befeathered nomads of the semiarid plains, astride their barebacked ponies. In the national consciousness, Western animals mean the animals of the plains and Rockies—the coyote, the bison, occasionally the grizzly

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bear. The compulsion once reached to our coins; the head of a plains Indian graced our pennies, a buffalo grazed across our nickels. Although a wagon freighter, cavalryman, prospector, or even lumberjack may on occasion wander through our notions of the frontier, the commanding figure remains the cowboy, or at least a sheriff who once operated as a cowboy. His emblems, unlike those of any other vanished tradesmen, can be listed by 200,000,000 Americans: a horse with its suggestions of knight-errantry, a pair of chaps with their suggestion of armor, a redhot pistol, suggesting, the Freudians say, an unconquerable virility.

Historically speaking, the Man on Horseback rode into this eminence quite understandably. What was to be his first home, the dime novel, attained its tremendous popularity among the bored infantrymen of the Civil War. Immediately after the war, while hundreds of thousands of people still had the habit of reading dime novels, the cattle industry began its spectacular boom, carrying with it illusions of freedom and controllable destiny. Scenting the appeal, Mr. Beadle's hired help quickly transformed the forest pathfinder, bequeathed them by James Fenimore Cooper, into a cowboy and followed the popular imagination into newer, wider spaces. The newcomer sold. He moved into the pulp magazines and did so well there that craftsmen more skilled than the pulpsters—Owen Wister, Emerson Hough, Zane Grey, Eugene Manlove Rhodes—accepted the genre, refined it, and lifted it into middle-class respectability in the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*. From there to Hollywood was then but the shortest of gallops.

Formulas petrified, time stood still, regional distinctions eroded into smooth conventions. Since for a century readers and now viewers have wanted no fundamental change, neither have editors. They reject and accept by pattern. Critics respond as automatically as moles to whatever suggests "Western" to them. I know of one historically accurate novel of the mining country that was brushed off by a columnist not because of defects it may well have had in plot, style, structure or characterization, but because there were people in it who rode around on horseback; hence it was "Western." (How else should they have journeyed in 1880?) This same novel

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returned from Hollywood, not with a reason but with a catch phrase: "The West has already been won." There is nothing more to say—unless it is said by rote, in which case the tale can be repeated endlessly.

This kind of foolishness has inevitably had a disastrous effect on what might have been a strong native literature. Writers whose imaginations have been fired by the drama inherent in the actual West recoil in various ways from the shadow of the unreal West. Bernard DeVoto, far and away the most literate of the recent students of the frontier, reacted by fleeing. Declaring flatly that a good story about cowboys could not possibly be written, he turned his back and devoted himself, in nonfiction, to other phases of the nation's westering. More stubborn souls, declining to abdicate the cow country and some of its vital themes, have also buckled on the shield of nonfiction, as Helena Huntington Smith did recently in *The War on Powder River,* an account of the clash between cattlemen and sodbuster-rustlers in Johnson County, Wyoming. It's a worn wheeze, that theme, and Miss Smith's nonfiction at times seems to be employed as a charm for warding off the curse of phoniness, a sort of desperate cry to the reader, Don't leave yet; I know what you are thinking, but this tale is documented, this one is honest.

It is my opinion that somewhere in the land there are writers capable of producing not stereotypes, but imaginative works about the American West. This is a call to them—foredoomed perhaps like Roland's cry at Roncesvalles, or perhaps even faintly comic like outdated Eben Flood's monologue in E. A. Robinson's poem, old Eben alone on a hillside with only his jug and two moons listening. But if someone else should also be listening, then with the call comes warning. Many sirens sing along the Western trails. Unless one is wary when he hears them, he will soon find himself strangling in the very quagmires he had hoped to avoid.

The most alluring of the seductions, superficially at least, is the Western costuming. The deeper the researcher digs for authentic data, the more enthralled he grows. Let me quote, in illustration, six examples from three different Colorado mining camp newspapers of the 1880's. Each of the examples is, in its

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way, almost irresistible, and each could be multiplied almost endlessly.

The first is from the Aspen *Times* of September 12, 1885.

> The usually quiet camp of Aspen was thrown into a state of excitement yesterday by a difficulty on Aspen Mountain, in which a man named McDowell got a severe blow across the face with an ax-handle & another named Billy Madigan got a bullet in the left shoulder. McDowell told the *Times* reporter, "I . . . was going back to the hundred-one mine, where I am foreman. I was driving a jack and had a 16-foot piece of pipe which I was taking up to the mine. I heard someone behind me . . . turned around and saw Billy Madigan coming up to me. He said, "I understand you called my father a gray-headed son of a bitch and I am going to lick you." I said, "No, I don't think I said anything of the kind; but I did say he was an old stinker, and you are another; you are a fine hair, you are." Madigan then said, "I am going to lick you, you s.o.b." "I am going to kill you," I replied. "Throw down your ax-handle and square yourself." Instead, he struck me a terrible blow with the ax-handle on the left side of the head, knocking me down and cutting a gash from which the blood ran down my face. He continued striking at me when I drew my gun and fired one shot in the air. He did not desist and I fired again, striking him as I am told in the left shoulder.

Men in the West were, as the saying goes, men. Let us move on to the women and another excerpt from the Aspen *Times,* this one dated June 18, 1885.

> Yesterday morning between 2 and 3 o'clock, just after the Aspen Theater had finished its regular program . . . an additional scene was enacted savoring of tragedy. Julius Benner was the piano player. Maud Lamb, one of Leadville's estrayed citizens, was his solid girl and was jerking beer in the parquette of the theater. Maud had complained that Julius spent his money and more of hers than was proper. When the theater closed, they had a racket among the chairs, which served Maud as instruments of warfare. Soon after, Julius was standing by the bar in the front room taking a drink, when . . . Maud entered with an open jack-knife partly concealed in her hand . . . and stabbed him in the stomach, and as she was making other strokes at him he knocked her down, when the deputy marshal arrested them. Benner said, "Hold on till I show you something," and backing up against the wall he pulled up his shirt, showing blood flowing freely from a savage wound in his abdomen clear to the bowels. . . . As Benner declined to

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prosecute, the officer preferred a charge of drunk and disorderly. She pleaded guilty and was fined $5 and costs.

For a slightly different tone, let us consider a run of events in 1881 in Durango, Colorado, as reported by the editor, who chanced to be a woman, a Mrs. Romney. First an editorial that appeared in the *Record* on March 12 under a heading "Wanted in Durango":

> We want girls! Girls who can get themselves up in good shape to go to a dance . . . girls who will go to church and to Bible-class on Sunday . . . and who will take a buggy ride after the lesson is over. They will help the livery business, and will also hasten the sale of residence lots, for buggies are the vehicles where homes are first thought of by many people. . . .
>
> We want girls for sweethearts, so that when we get an arm shot off, or are kicked by a mule, or thrown from a bucking horse and are laid away for repairs, we may hear a gentle voice and see the glitter of a crystal tear. . . .
>
> We want fat and funny girls to make us smile all over, and lean and fragile ones to hang upon our arms, and petite blondes who show themselves on sunny days; and stately brunettes, so beautiful in the twilight.
>
> We have mineral enough, and plenty of coal, and oxide of iron. The only lack of our resources is those potent civilizers of their pioneer brothers—the girls!

In spite of the wistful appeal, it would appear that there were at least a few potent civilizers in Durango, for a month later, on April 9, the *Record* announced a grand ball to celebrate the opening of the West End Hotel:

> The opening dinner will be spread in the mammoth dining hall from seven to nine pm when an elegant menu . . . will be raided by Durango's elite. After the royal gorge has taken place, the large force of attendants will spirit away the china and broken-hearted champagne bottles, and Professor Deluis and his True Fissure Orchestra will take possession of one end of the room. Then sweet perfumes will greet grateful nostrils, and exquisite strains of Terpsichorean musical messages will be telephoned through auricular drums, past palpitating hearts, to agile feet which will not rest till morn.

Unfortunately, a bunch of feuding cowboys shot up the hotel,

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and the grand opening had to be postponed. However, there were other diversions. A vigilante committee lynched one of the brawlers, and a week later, on April 16, the editor found solace in wielding her pen over this:

> And a ghastly sight it was. . . . A slight wind swayed the body to and fro. The pale moonlight glimmering through the rifted clouds clothed the ghastly face with a ghastlier pallor. The somber shadows of the massive foliage seemed blacker than the weeds of mourning; and the shuffling of hurrying feet in the dusty road, mingling with the weird whistling of the breeze through the pine boughs broke upon the ear with a sepulchral tone. . . . Thus the Powers that Be . . . have proclaimed to the world that good order, peace, quietude and safety must and shall prevail in Durango.

And finally, for a description of another social phenomenon, let us turn to Leadville and an undated excerpt from the Leadville *Democrat,* as quoted by George Willison on pages 189-90 of his book, *Here They Dug the Gold.*

> "HELL ON THE ROAD—FIGHTING ALL ALONG THE BOULEVARD," read the *Democrat* one morning. "Sunday is always an occasion for fast women, rapid men, and all the sporting fraternity to air themselves on the beautiful drive. Toward evening these cheerful souls got hilarious. Presently, some big double-decked rooster opened the ball by jumping at a small courtesan and smashing her nose. The matinee then began. One female armed herself with a beer bottle and created on the head of a well-known gentleman several bumps not down on his phrenological chart. He retaliated by taking a board and damaging her some. Scarcely was this over when another woman drew a revolver and began scattering galena around in a particularly reckless fashion, and was only induced to stop when her solid man seized her by her false hair and mopped up the boulevard with her. Her yells had barely died away when another circus performance opened.
>
> "We regret to announce that nobody was killed."

All this is delightful stuff, quaint and colorful. Mesmerized by it, one can pretend to hew significant themes out of it. Billy Madigan and his ax-handle and Maud and her jackknife might be classed, for instance, as stories of the unbridled individual in an unsophisticated society where traditions about acceptable behavior

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have not yet coalesced enough to enforce conformity; the denouement, of course, would then revolve about the refining of the wild. For society did yearn to be tamed, as Mrs. Romney showed in her elegant forecast of the Grand Ball that was to mark the opening of the West End Hotel. And when the opening had to be postponed because of an outbreak of violence, the more stalwart arms of Civilization, the Powers that Be, arose in their wrath and restored order in classic fashion—the vigilante committee.

It is difficult to convince devotees of horse opera that material as entrancing and as seemingly authentic as all that provides sleazy fabric for stories and that in trying to stitch tales out of it they are confusing the costume with the body. Yet these same devotees seldom suppose that contemporary literature (save in the case of lynchings, of which more hereafter) can be tailored out of the similar street brawls that are drably and regularly recorded on the police blotters of every large city. For, you see, the devotees have been accidentally seduced by frontier journalists. These were hardworking men who had little of significance to write (there were also other motivations but there is no space to elaborate on that point) and who therefore clothed the small violences around them with what today seems a fresh and racy vocabulary, ballooned the events onto the otherwise blank front pages, and in so doing unintentionally left behind an impression that almost mindless violence was a primary facet of Western living. Those who are trapped by this into writing about mindlessness naturally feel that they need plumb no deeper than the motions it caused. And so the quagmire closes in, for almost mindless motion is, of course, the chief hallmark of horse opera.

Another seduction in Western writing is the land itself. Its deserts, mountains and canyons are bold and dramatic. The very leap of their lines suggests that certainly they should be the home of men bold enough to match the mountains; they should produce, through some process of self-generation, dramatic episodes. "Great things are done where men and mountains meet," poet William Blake wrote a hundred and fifty years ago. "This is not done by jostling in the street." And so we come to Jack London and London's dog Buck who, in answering the call of the wild, becomes a

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superdog, and to Smoke Bellew in London's novel of the same name. In San Francisco's jostling streets Smoke is a useless wastrel. But he has superior, Nordic genes in his chromosomes, and the moment he hits the Klondike mountains he becomes, by simple horse-opera biologies, a prodigy of strength and valor.

The romanticism that fathers this sort of plot is apparently ineradicable. I have a deep admiration for Justice William O. Douglas, and especially for his stalwart efforts to conserve the physical grandeurs of the Western landscape. Yet Douglas was able to write in *Of Men and Mountains,* "I have never met along the trails of the high mountains a mean man, a man who would cheat and steal. Most men who are raised there or who work there are as wholesome as the mountains."

The remark started a chain of reflections. The first was a memory of rounding a clump of trees beside a Rocky Mountain trail and coming across a man who, in solitude, had performed the considerable physical feat of roping a wild cow, throwing her, and tying all four of her feet together. He was passionately beating off her horns with a club. She had endeavored to hook his horse, he said, and he was teaching her a lesson. But, then, this was in the Rockies and Justice Douglas was writing of the Cascade Mountains of Oregon.

That roused a second memory, of H. L. Davis' Pulitzer prize-winning picaresque novel, *Honey in the Horn,* in which much of the action transpires in the Cascades. Clay Calvert, the mountain-raised hero of *Honey in the Horn,* smuggles to his jailed step-father a gun that won't work in hopes that his stepfather will be killed when he tries to use it. The scheme misfires, however, and the stepfather, wrathful now, escapes. Clay has to flee for his life over the wholesome high trails. His companions are a horse-trader for whom the word "mean" is a gross understatement, and the horse-trader's daughter, who without benefit of wedlock supplies the novel with some of its romantic interest. In their wanderings, zestfully told in the racy idiom of the country, Clay and the girl meet a variegated lot of characters who are not only willing to steal and cheat, but eager. Which is the fiction, one wonders: Davis' book or Douglas'?

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Another seduction, insidious because of the halftruths it sings, is the notion of the second chance, of a remaking, of a savior who will put the world to rights. The frontier, which once began at the Atlantic seaboard, has always been symbolic of that untrammeled place where the ideals of human dignity can be realized afresh. "Westward," Thoreau said, "I go free." Hoping momentarily to escape from the despair into which her unyielding Puritan society had plunged her, Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter* asked her lover in what is really a plea, "Whither leads yon forest track?" Surely there is something better out beyond. Songs caught the mood: "O Susannah, don't you cry for me!" Willa Cather felt it in such novels as *O, Pioneers* and *My Ántonia,* where the daughters of immigrant farmers, the continuity of their cultures snapped almost overnight, searched for and found the stability they needed in the soil itself.

A tremendous hope went westward with our people, and often only a tremendous disillusionment awaited them. It is in dealing with this disillusionment that writers about the West have come closest to creating an enduring literature. Out on the measureless Dakota prairies, Per Hansa of Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth* feels clear into his bones the strength of the land for which he is so hungry. But to his wife those same blank prairies offered, in her words, no shelter behind which life could hide; and the emptiness pressed onto her until, for a time, she lost her mind. Comparable themes occupied Hamlin Garland and Ruth Suckow in their bleak descriptions of the stultifying toil that pioneering demanded. For Frank Norris in *The Octopus* America's greedy industrialism was the villain, strangling the wheat that was his symbol of life.

Another Western disillusionment was found in the vitiation of energy. "The lusty pioneer blood is tamed now, broken and gelded," are the opening words of Conrad Richter's *The Sea of Grass.* The conflict of Richter's story arises when nesters—that is, farmers—move onto the New Mexico range of cattle baron Jim Brewton (much as they moved onto the range of the Wyoming barons in Helena Smith's nonfiction *The War on Powder River*). Television screens resound with similar clashes, but in TV it is mere resonance. Richter, however, writing fiction, manages better

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than nonfiction accounts do to catch the universal tragedy of lost strength: Samson undone by treachery. The nesters, led by a man named Brice Chamberlain, defeat Brewton not directly but by political maneuvers and legal trickery. At the same time, and symbolically enough, Chamberlain seduces Brewton's wife, and the story becomes one of bafflement, of a sad clinging to illusion, until Brewton, tamed now and broken, makes his last bleak compromise with reality.

Something of the same thought is present in Willa Cather's *A Lost Lady*. The lady is lost not because of her unfaithfulness to her railroad-building husband but because she has no focus for her energies, no creative dreams to absorb her vitality. And so, one way or another, the primal energies thin down, the characters turn soft, the towns become—I take the words from the opening sentence of *A Lost Lady*—"those gray towns along the Burlington railroad, which are so much grayer today than they were then."

More than anything else, the horse opera declines such disillusionments. There must be a savior.* It is a sound and honorable theme, of course, as old as Greek Odysseus sweeping with drawn bow on the suitors who have invaded his home and setting both the home and all Ithaca once more to rights. American writers have given this plot some strange twists. As Charles Rolo has pointed out, one perversion of it is Mickey Spillane's sadistic, once-popular solver of problems, detective Mike Hammer. Dress Mike over in woolly chaps, repress his more blatant glandular drives, relocate him in the sagebrush, and what have you got? The cowboy savior, that's what, making the ever-new West safe for man's old dreams.

The prototype is Owen Wister's *The Virginian*. In person the Virginian is, and I quote Wister verbatim, "as beautiful as pictures" . . . Smile when you call me that! But he has a drollery to him, and for a while the book floats pleasantly along through a series of practical jokes, tall tales, even an Indian ambush. Then Eden is invaded by serpents—cattle rustlers. Sadly but efficiently

* Curiously, the Transmississippi West seems to have produced no truly prophetic novels, no voices crying salvation in the wilderness. Yet it is a logical site for such a novel; both California and Colorado (to say nothing of Mormon Utah) were dotted with utopian colonies, some successful, led by zealots burning with the truth.

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the Virginian hangs all but the head serpent, Trampas, who escapes. Conventional society promptly voices its protests at the extralegal executions through the voice of a schoolma'am named Molly, a strayed chip off an old Vermont block and the Virginian's sweetheart. Molly is, if I may be given the liberty, briefly mollified when the Virginian's boss explains that wherever public law proves weak, private law must step into the breach. But then her standards suffer further strain. In order to keep his manhood unsullied, the Virginian walks down a lonesome street and outguns Trampas in the best *High Noon* style. Molly senses that this is not quite the way in which differences were settled back in old Vermont. She starts another protest. By this time, however, Mr. Wister is handling a very hot potato. Rather than juggle it longer, he lets love conquer even doubt. In her relief at having her man return alive, à la Odysseus, Molly falls weeping onto his chest, and all ends blissfully on an island in a river. The fundamental problems of justice are not faced. They are never faced in "Westerns" or among minute men with horse-opera mentalities. It is enough to be saved, no matter what is lost in the process.

Of course there were lynchings in the West, as there have been everywhere. The classic case, spawner of dozens of yarns, is that of Henry Plummer, who, while serving as sheriff of both Bannack and Virginia City, Montana, secretly led a gang of highwaymen responsible for murdering a reputed one hundred and two people. I do not believe the figure, but no matter; it is only costuming anyway. The body of the matter lay in the formation of a vigilance committee to restore order.

As these self-constituted lawmen of Virginia City were riding forth on their errand, they encountered a hoodlum named Erastus Yeager, better known as Red. Red was tried—no outsider ever knew of what the trial consisted—and was induced to confess—no one ever knew how. He was then executed before the men he had accused could confront him. That done, the vigilantes swept on through the countryside, hanging the men Yeager had named without corroboration to trees, rafters, corral gates, any upright that was handy.

These events occurred late in December, 1863, and early in

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January, 1864. For one hundred years since then the same apology has been repeated over and over: inasmuch as crooks controlled the apparatus of law enforcement, what other recourse did honest men have?

The rhetorical question prompts another in retort: What else did they ever try? Might there be a story in someone's standing up to voice a protest? But no, the leaning gallows, the whistle of wind through the lonesome places, the grim march of the defenders to the place of retribution—the costuming always wins. And yet, two lawyers in Virginia City did raise the issue of trial by jury and were told by the vigilantes either to keep quiet or leave. Why is that footnote always overlooked?

I know of only one searching novel about a Western lynching, Walter Van Tilburg Clark's *The Ox-Bow Incident,* and it is content with the obvious theme, the possibility that self-directed avengers might in their righteousness be wrong and execute innocent men. There is room for other themes. When Henry Plummer died at rope's end in Bannack, the American Bill of Rights had been in force for seventy-two years. By now, one hundred and seventy-seven years have passed, which is long enough, it would seem, for certain rights to have become traditions of our time. And when suddenly the times were out of joint, was there in those desolate mountain places no Hamlet frozen with horror at what he was being called on to do? No Brutus, lured on to disaster by his own lofty idealism?

A Macbeth existed, I think. Although the point is seldom dwelt on in tales about Plummer, there lived in Bannack during those times one Sidney Edgerton, Abraham Lincoln's appointee as chief justice of Idaho Territory. (Montana in 1863 was a part of newly created Idaho.) Edgerton's nephew, Colonel Wilber F. Sanders, was one of the moving spirits of the vigilantes, albeit he seems to have stayed behind when they went on their rides. Justice Edgerton, surely a representative of the law that is said not to have existed, knew perfectly well what his nephew and the other vigilantes were up to. He uttered no protest, however. Instead he went to Washington and urged that Montana be established as a separate territory, partly on the grounds that law and order would

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be better served by a division from Idaho. Congress acceded, and when Lincoln selected a governor for the new territory, it turned out to be—that's right—Sidney Edgerton. So perhaps there were witches whispering of ambition across the caldron. Yet all we hear is that vigilantes did only what they had to do in order to preserve fundamental values.

The tale that needs writing is not the one about gangs who kill one hundred and two people nor about the pursuit of such gangs nor about the hanging of their leaders. That's the motion. The story lurks in whatever it was that flickered behind the eyes of the men who did the executing or who declined to do it—a story of frightened men who had followed a gleam of hope from familiarity into strangeness and who one day raised their heads from their digging to find that the traditions and customs by which they had long abided were suddenly gone. Only blind luck remained. The next turn of the shovel might make them wealthier than they had ever before dreamed of being. Or they might starve. But you cannot punish chance. All you can punish, vicariously enough in your reading sometimes, is the threat you can see, the Plummers of the world. And so you assert yourself. Who are you? Ah, you are the savior. Marching with the vigilantes, you grasp for your integrity through emptiness and you catch . . . what?

It's a marvelous story, really. Someday it should be told.

This brings us to the final stumbling block, the problem of relevance. As one drives across the plains and comes abruptly onto the new industrial cities that are rising dramatically against the backdrop of the Rockies—Great Falls, Montana, say, or Denver or Colorado Springs—the notion of finding pertinence in what happened there during a different century seems all at once absurd. And when one drives on into the high country and sees the summer carnival towns—Central City west of Denver or reconstructed Virginia City in Montana—and when one watches the tawdry make-believe with which they try, for the price of a tourist's dollar, to revivify what they all call in capital letters The Old West, the idea of a literature out of such materials seems doubly frantic.

But such hesitations miss the point. There are other relevancies for writing than contemporaneousness. The possibility of being

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dated never bothered Homer or Shakespeare or, to an extent, Faulkner. They were dwelling on themes that could be enlarged most fully by turning from modernity to mythic periods—periods when, the reader is ready to believe, life was lived according to its elements, when there were no limits to what could be achieved, and when, accordingly, there were also completely wanton freedoms of impulse and passion; when crime grew enormous not by statistic but by its unrestrained denial of the calls of humanity—a time when standards were changing as rapidly as they are now; when fatalism seemed, as it does today, the only possible explanation for the disasters that befall men; when naked self-love openly challenged self-command for supremacy; when King Lear's daughters could, as their heirs do now, tear out eyes without the least twinge of conscience—and when the response to all this is created page by page in the hearts of readers who see in the shadows of that gigantic past the universal present.

The violent West is America's mythic land. Someday some young writer who does not flee from its stereotype as DeVoto did, who does not feel he must always seek the shield of literalness, and who refuses to yield to the seductions along the way, will see it so, and then with hard granitic style will dig it free from beneath the ash heaps of a century of foolish composition.

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Scholarship[1]

ROGER DU BEARN

Of this important twentieth-century document, the text is entirely missing. But we have the footnotes! We can therefore safely surmise that it was one of those widely discussed, closely read, much quoted, soon forgotten works that characterize the latter third of that amazing century. It has survived thanks to generations of Ph.D.'s. Was it a novel? Who can tell? Professor Decubitus (Upsala) is certain that it was; he goes so far as to assign it the exalted place of Pornogram-of-the-Month for some December within the span 1973-1984—all on the strength of the word "gift-wrapped" in footnote 21. But A. J. Saltayr has destroyed that hypothesis by showing that only the first twenty footnotes date from the century after the missing text. No. 21 must have been forged later, probably by a young scholar in need of prestige for promotion, or an old one trying to stave off retirement at the statutory age of thirty-nine. Those were the days of rugged free-for-all in the groves of Academe! So much so that, in time, fabrication (sublime folly!) became an accepted means of self-advancement, provided the fraud showed mastery of technique.

But we digress. Let us on to the exquisite atmosphere and subtle cross-rhythms of the Footnotes—to say nothing of that unique *panache* of sophistication, the Footnotes to the Footnotes. Little known so far, they are bound to win a place in the hearts of all lovers of antiquity. Their fragrance, wafted to us over the long dark ages, transports us without effort to happy times of high energy, bright contrasts of misery and power, of violence and sullenness—in a word, of civilization, a civilization vastly different

[1] *Narrenschiff* in the original.

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from the dull gray of the ensuing millennium of peace and prosperity.

The Footnotes

[1] See footnote on previous page.

[2] The point has some importance, because unless taken as I suggest, the whole—I will not say plot, because our author gave up plot with *Under the Hair the Dandruff Lies*—pyramid of antiplots turns on itself and threatens to destroy the monotony required as a back cloth for the taped screams from the madhouse which, when heard from half-left at 550 decibels, constitute the focus of interest in Total Discomposition.

[3] Shakespeare, or rather, the great Danish poet Arrebo, for whom Shakespeare acted merely as English translator, would have been incapable of this metaphysic: it is always possible to worry out a meaning from A. or his ghost; that is their weakness. We are not to blame them: they had never heard of Freud and had virtually no drugs.[a]

[4] Short of Total as previously defined, the edifice totters (See Tottel's *Miscellany*). What is then left is pure concept, not pure art, much less anti-art. To raise the anti to the level of metaphysic calls for one further element, that which supervenes when the writer leaves the crowded vanguard of intent and, so to speak, enters the spacious random house. At that point he reaches what that fine critic Anna-Lise de Texte has aptly called *pure antartic.*

[5] There is some doubt about the lowercase *f*. Dribbler supposes (*PLM*, Wagons-Lits, 2è Classe, 16 h 24) that both compositors were about of an age, but that the one who set the lower case throughout was a few years younger. The other, we know, was a capital fellow and not past his prime. We must then decide whether inexperience or the beginnings of senility account for that *f* which might be an old-fashioned *s*. Obviously on this decision the whole dating of patent (as against latent) obscenity depends. Compared with this the problem in line 141, whether . . . [the rest of the page is torn].

[6] For *automation* some read *autumn issue.* The use of the dictaphone is generally held responsible for the confusion. And certainly the suggestion that all the contributors to the *New York Review of Books* be dispensed with in favor of a machine that would write just as well (automation) does not seem plausible, even in that age of bold randomism (see note 4). On the other hand, *autumn issue* is not easily applied to a weekly publication. Well, we must leave a few mysteries to later scholarship.[b]

[7] See me above.

[8] In saying *"bête noir* is my *bête noire"* he implies no transvestism, much less homosexual byplay. It is a simple grammatical observation, linked with the satirical desire to show that the writers most addicted to French phrases are the ones who propagate the worst misspellings. Satire today

[a] In the works of the period and long after, the references to "hemp" without qualifiers mean "rope" and usually "hanging." Such is primitive art—plain and monoplane beyond our power to imagine.

[b] *Narrenschiff* in the original.

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would not dare be so savage and would not know how to be so subtle. That is the price we pay for the protection of censorship.

[9] See me below.

[10] Note our author's strategy to prevent our adopting any position on the matter. He has forbidden us to admire, to pity, to reject, to deride, to be amused, and to be disgusted. Now he affects to despise us if we despise, and he condemns us to the hell of the out-of-date if we wind up indifferent. What an antartist!

[11] Clearly, the power of invention does not depend wholly on the individual. Style and form provide opportunity and stimulus. That is what was perceived by the resolute antibody of men who made the antartic revolution. It reopened to them the whole range of the Total, which includes not only everything but each of its minuses as well. These considerations will strike anyone who notices at this point in the text the brilliant use of nonconnectives in the moving reply: "Sorry Cannot Come Dead" There is not even punctuation to interfere with what must be called the wiry quality of the prose. What creators we had then!

[12] From here to the end the original is not printed but handwritten in a blue-covered notebook (6¾ × 8¼) containing sixteen pages of grayish paper, ruled in light blue at $\frac{5}{16}$" intervals and with a left-hand margin (ruled in red) 1¼ inch wide. In the margin are undeciphered marks such as *sp., punc., ww.* and repeated ? ? ? The blue cover, which is torn, had at one time some heraldic emblem printed on it. Below it the words . . . *mouth College* still remain, and below them part of a name ending in . . *ck Robinson*. To the right of this, still unexplained, is the algebraic notation *B*—.

[13] Since I must thank ASCAP for quoting *Yankee Doodle,* I take the opportunity to thank the owners of the sole set of printed sheets and the owners of the manuscript conclusion, who alike wish to remain anonymous, for understandable reasons; also the owners of the copyright, who would not answer. Likewise Messrs. Clutch and Sour, the publishers of the present edition, and their editorial staff, without whom this book would have reached the press much too soon. I thank my colleagues, who are not responsible for anything; and my wife, who is; finally, the librarians of Congress and the British Museum (but not of the Bibliothèque Nationale).

[14] The student who wants to penetrate the culture of the time must look up the one extant quarto of *Classified,* that massive alphabetical compendium of the arts and crafts. It was a boastful age, but the boasting was justified. The only wonder is that this golden book was printed on such cheap paper, now yellowed with age—indeed, it is authoritatively believed that the pages were yellow to begin with and are, in fact, those Yellow Pages that the contemporaries were frequently urged to "see," no doubt to bolster up their morale when depressed or alienated (displaced persons).

[15] *Ibid.* See "A Garland Of: a poem by O'Sullivan the Heel."[c]

[c] He belonged to the Browning or Funeral-Grammarian school, who made short lyrics and elegies out of simple conjugations, *e.g.*:

Ibid., Ubid., Hebid.
Webid. Ubid. Theybid.

not to be confused with the exclamation *Opcit!,* which is a shortened form of *Opcit omen.*

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[16] Under the mandarin system in force till 1984, the class struggle was necessarily acute. Throughout the land, Class 42 would wage incessant war against both 43 and 41, and this pattern was repeated at every stage from this uppermost triad down to the lowest, which was 15-16-17. (The bottom could not be 1-2-3, for fear of offending these lowest classes.)

At times the fighting took the form of direct physical violence—muggings and knifings on darkened streets. But it went on by daylight also in the form of ruthless competition for marks of prestige—whence the marksist interpretation of history. This was the doctrine that all the events of history are explainable by marks, which in turn are the result of the inevitable relation between men and their means of reproduction.

[17] [Missing, alas, like so much else!]

[18] This is a quotation from the poet Marlowe. It begins "If all the pens that ever poets held. . . ," and because of this highly logical disjunctive opening the habit grew of giving the five lines more compactly in the mathematical form above. After the death of our author, the genius of the great polymath, George Polly Sypher, was able to give these verses an even terser expression: If $PP^{1024} > GG^{n+1}$ then $E^* = GG - 1$, where PP stands for poets' pens, GG for graces, and E for any form of expression. By such means ("terse verse") it was found possible to reduce the famous *Oxford Book of English Verse* to the four sides of one printed octavo folder.

[19] In 1976 or 7, the scientific linguists succeeded in passing a constitutional amendment compelling every holder of a college degree to say "ain't" at least twelve times a year in front of a government inspector, or else file an affidavit to having done so before two bonded witnesses. The fines for noncompliance were meant to be crushing; but this homage to science once paid, educated speakers were free to use the stepmother tongue, *e.g.*: "The responsibility for determination of completed submission of application before FPB deadline duedate operates toward denial of application rests with the executive board of ARF, unless use of appeal procedure before expiration of original application period has not been notified to applicant." It is not a limpid style, true, but in its consonantal hammer strokes and power of abstraction it is a grand style, in perfect parallel with the anti-art of the time.

[20] Here I must admit, as an honest and modest annotator, that our author's final paragraph tends to cast doubt on every interpretation I have given. I take comfort in the certainty that scholarship[d] will go on, hand in hand with her fair sister Revisionism, and that future readers will in due course be beholden to both for a demonstration that what is true is the exact opposite of what I have written. *Floreat scientia!*

[d] *Narrenschiff* in the original.

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Apathy, A Narrative Poem

DUDLEY FITTS

1. The Doge's senior Mistress leaves the pad
The Owl for all his feathers has a cold
Kiss me, Isotta says, I'se feelin sad.
The Aretine admits he's growing old

2. One inks one's inkings with a sense of dim
calamity. Jake writes his clutch of en-
viable women. Be it so. Jane him
ensues with drip from her peculiar pen,

3. *i.e.*, the hatch. So be it. Her commotion
is paregoric, certes, as is she.
Renato, warm o' pants, would wed the Ocean
What, all Great Neptune's Daughter? So it be.

4. Marry the wash with this here Ring he can.
The Aretine's adrift upon the bay.
The Muses (9) have too much hide to tan
for who would tan it. We would not. O A-

5. pathy, thou elder Uncle to a Ghost,
thou'st done our Doge dirt alack the day.
His songless Chorus perches on the roost
Right-Centre. Girls & boys come out to bray.

✪ DUDLEY FITTS, poet, critic, and translator of Aristophanes, Sophocles, Euripides and Martial, is editor of the Yale Series of Younger Poets.

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London Letter . . . . . .

ANTHONY BURGESS

American *aficionados* of the tough contemporary naturalistic novel are entitled to feel superior to their British counterparts. Americans are permitted to read *Last Exit to Brooklyn* and Britons, who never never never will be slaves, are not. The book was judged obscene in the Old Bailey last November, despite a parade of defense witnesses who represented the very cream of informed literary and sociological opinion. Just one year previously, a mere magistrate had condemned the book, but he was a man who expressed wonder that post-Zola novelists were not content with the reticence of *Vanity Fair*. One expected something better—in a higher court—than the shameful dismissal of eminent men of letters as smut-hounds. But when a man of God and former Test cricketer—the Reverend David Sheppard—stood up to testify that *Last Exit* had injured him to an extent he could not yet assess, a woman in the gallery said gleefully, "He's worth twenty of your intellectuals," and mere littérateurs knew the cause was lost.

This matter of injury to a man of the cloth was not pursued in the cross-examination, but it could, presumably, mean only one of two things. It could mean that a curate of souls was actually *corrupted* by a book that had failed to corrupt mere humanist professors of literature (like Frank Kermode), or it could mean that a professional Christian wished to turn his back on spectacles of human misery and degradation and pretend that they did not exist. Thus, an exposure of life in Buchenwald or Dachau would have to be regarded as obscene, and presumably it was wrong of newspapers recently to report the torture of a mongrel dog by hooligans who drove rusty nails into its backbone. Whatever the Reverend David Sheppard meant, his testimony, more than anything the aesthetes or psychologists said, served to persuade the all-male jury that *Last Exit* was an abomination and the firm that published it guilty of a grave crime.

Despite the verdict, the question whether a work of fiction can morally corrupt a normal mind still seems to me to be a wide-open one. To say that a book can have no moral influence at all is probably nonsense, but the moral influence of works of literary art, as opposed to didactic works, must be regarded as very much in doubt. When a book makes a prolonged appeal to reason, pure or perverted, it is capable of changing the moral beliefs of whole communities, even—as with *Mein Kampf* and *Das Kapital*—whole nations. But there is little evidence that a book which merely represents some aspect of life, however one-sided, can radically modify the code of social behavior of a healthy mind.

Private behavior is another matter. A pornographic work is a sort of instrument for inducing onanistic acts, which are unsocial rather than antisocial. Such a work will represent the act of sex, usually in some perverse or fantastic allomorph, often without consultation of the limits of physical possibility, and its aim is always to encourage solitary fantasy. This fantasy is then discharged harmlessly in masturbation, so that pornography is as much a purgative as senna or rhubarb. A pornograph can be either visual or verbal, but

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✪ ANTHONY BURGESS' column appears in alternate issues of the SCHOLAR. His novel, *Enderby*, will be published soon by W. W. Norton.

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the visual stimulus is usually more intense than the verbal one. If anything that encourages sexual fantasy and leads to onanistic discharge is a pornograph, then pornographs lie all about us—underwear advertisements, cheesecake magazines, Victorian nudes in provincial art galleries. Etymologically (*porne* being Greek for "whore") any depersonalized picture of a conceivable sexual partner represents the purest pornography you can get. But how much more stimulating is the real thing, the real thing being a bikinied girl on the beach or a miniskirted girl on the sidewalk. If pornography ought to be outlawed, women ought to be kept indoors or sent for brief shopping trips in yashmak and djellaba.

A pornographic and a didactic work have this in common: they stimulate, and they expect the discharge of the stimulation to be effected in real-life acts—acts of masturbation or acts of social significance. They differ from a work of literature in that the purpose of literary art is to arouse emotions and then discharge those emotions as part of the aesthetic experience. Every static piece of literature (by that I mean one with the minimum of didactic or pornographic elements—the complete elimination of those being difficult to achieve) is characterized by a sort of parabolic rhythm. We are aroused, we reach a peak of excitement and, while the artistic experience is still going on, we descend a slope of purgation, ending in a valley where we know nothing but calm of mind, all passion spent. If we read a book or see a play or movie and are then driven to discharge the emotion in some solitary or social act, then we have experienced excellent pornography or didacticism but very bad art. Where *Last Exit to Brooklyn* possibly fails as good art is in its arousal of social conscience. We observe the plight of people living in a slough of degradation, and we want to do something about it. We experience pity-and-terror, and we want to discharge that Aristotelian emotion in an act of charity or compassion. The book is overdidactic, then, rather than pornographic.

But, even if it were pornographic, what has this to do with the law? The law does not forbid acts of onanism, or even self-flagellation and solitary bondage, and pornography is essentially designed for the solitary cell and the locked door. I know that there are some who think that a pornographic work may induce unstable minds to carry over the fantasy element, particularly when it involves dreams of cruelty, to real life. Lady Snow, better known as Pamela Hansford Johnson, has been greatly disturbed because there was evidence that the perpetrators of the Moors Murders—in which a child was debauched and tortured and her screams recorded against a background of pop music—had read the works of the Marquis de Sade. It is all too likely that the didactic parts of Sade's *Justine* served as a justification for acts of genuine sadism, but they worked on a diseased mind. Anything will work on a diseased mind. Many a repressed adolescent must have masturbated in the presence of the Victorian engravings in a family Bible. Haig, the blood-drinking murderer, confessed to the stimulation of the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. A New York multiple child-murderer had been haunted by the Abraham and Isaac episode in the Old Testament. Ban the Marquis de Sade and you must ban the Bible, *Hamlet, Titus Andronicus,* the official reports on Nazi atrocities, *Crime and Punishment, Madame Bovary,* the stories of the Brothers Grimm, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs,* and all the daily newspapers except the *Church Times.*

These are some of the thoughts that have been exercising me ever since, taking advantage of a new act of Parliament, a couple of private citizens brought their obscenity action against *Last Exit.* The Director of Public Prosecutions, despite the invitation of the British publishers of the book, was unwilling to act on behalf of the State (or the Crown, if you like), but the local success of those private litigants forced him to reenact the process on a full-dress scale. It seems ironic to many that the condemnation of *Last Exit* took place in a week when B.B.C. television presented a lengthy dramatization of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial in Moscow, presumably with a

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view to awakening British horror at the curbs put on free expression in a communist state. We can expect in Britain now further successes in the obscenity processes of private citizens (with consequent follow-ups by the D.P.P.), and every writer must worry whether the next book to be condemned may not be one of his own. It's evidently dangerous to exhibit—with all the devices of realism we inherit from Zola—the lives of the distressed, the downtrodden, the mentally sick. It is therefore dangerous to attempt to elicit sympathy and activate the forces of reform in areas that, without the writer's exposure, would remain closed to inquiry and concern. There is never any justification for censorship. It doesn't protect us from corruption; it merely anesthetizes, blinkers, dehumanizes.

If I am not to be informed about the horrors of perverted Brooklyn, starving India, rioting Malaysia, flooded Lisbon and the rest of the wretched world, I should prefer to do my own blacking-out. There is nothing to prevent my refusing to listen to news broadcasts or take in newspapers. Sometimes I feel that my compulsive switching on of television at newstime, my systematic devouring of three daily papers and six Sunday ones, is a masochistic perversion. Having stuffed myself with the gloom of the world, I feel like spending the rest of the day drinking rather than working. Today, Monday, I have tried to find—like Diogenes with his honesty-seeking lantern—some items of cheer among the long accounts of graft, sin, recession, but I've found nothing. One newspaper does its best to brighten the day with jokes, pin-ups and heartwarming stories of kindness to children and animals, but its false-toothed grin is more depressing than the long-faced jeremiads of the more "responsible" organs. Nevertheless, I go on taking it. Its name is the *Daily Mirror*. It has been going a long time, and I think that Aldous Huxley must have had it in mind when, in *Brave New World,* he allotted the *Delta Mirror* to the barely literate caste of the state-conditioned worshipers of Ford and fun. Its words were exclusively monosyllabic, which is perhaps taking satire too far. The *Daily Mirror,* having faith in its readers, is sometimes boldly polysyllabic.

Its old motto was "Forward with the People," and it was always Labour in its politics. But the motto rang strangely when the people put the Tories back in, so it was dropped. Yet the *Mirror,* although it is prepared to slam hard at any government's incompetence, larding its editorials with injunctions like "Stop this bloody nonsense" and "Take your finger out," refuses to join the Right. It finds it convenient to perpetuate a Hollywood-style image of British Conservatism as connected with public schools (private schools to you —Eton, Harrow and so on), grouse moors, the Royal Enclosure at the Derby, patrician accents and exclusive clubs. Its appeal to the class that uses public transport as opposed to a chauffeured Bentley or even a self-drive minicar is proclaimed in its very format. Its sheets are half the size of the *Times,* to make for easier reading while straphanging on the Underground railway. Its presentation involves much headlining, many illustrations, but the minimum of hard fact.

I'm not disparaging the *Mirror*—far from it. It's well put together and is in the hands of an expert staff whose politics are probably closer to the grouse moors than the greyhound track. Its cheery correspondence page—"Live Letters"—provides homely and pawky, even cheeky, answers to readers' inquiries, and these purport to come from an aged pair called the Old Codgers. The Old Codgers' idiom is highly demotic—full of "Good for you, missy" and "'Fraid we can't answer that one, friend" and "If all the world thought as you do, mate, it'd be a darn sight better place to live in." But I have seen one of these Old Codgers (or perhaps there is really only one and the plurality—or duality —is of an editorial nature). He lives in the next village to my own, joins in local church activities, is grey and distinguished, and speaks with an Oxford accent.

Marjorie Proops, who runs a woman's page that prides itself on hitting out and

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not mincing matters, uses an American-style dialect flavorsome with "I guess" and "I reckon," imputes to herself a sexiness she naturally assumes in her readers, and is desperately facetious when not hard-hitting. Send her to Moscow and she will call herself "Marjski" and say something like "All those Ivans and Ivanskis are not backward in coming forward when they see a nice bit of homework—just like they lived in Golders Green or Camberwell." American readers will, I think, know the idiom well. Mrs. Proops, whom I recognized standing next to me in a London bar one evening, is, as you would expect, a staid woman with a well-modulated and highly educated speaking voice, who would no more call herself "Marjski" in company than she would say "Boyoboyoboy." All these journalists are highly trained impersonators: they are acting a class role. They must be acting it very successfully, since the *Mirror* has a circulation of six million and a readership of far, far more.

Most people read the cartoons before they read anything else, and the *Mirror* has very good cartoons. One series, called "Andy Capp," depicts a cloth-capped character with a cigarette-end in his mouth even when in bed or on the soccer field, a man who beats up his wife, refuses to work, and sleeps on the unpaid-for sofa when he is not in the pub. "He's fair," says his wife. "I'll say that for him. He's horrible to everybody." So he is, but (or therefore) he's a national hero, a harmless grotesque enactor of working-class fantasies. Other cartoons invite identification on slightly higher economic levels: "The Larks" presents a family that seems to do quite well out of the husband's supermarket job—impossibly well, really, since the wife is always buying new clothes, and there are parties, elaborate holidays, car, fridge, telly, the lot. The appeal is that of the TV commercials: it's consumption-promoting. Another cartoon series—"The Flutters"—is about a couple of men who are unlucky in jobs but lucky on bets (or "flutters"). All aspirations are catered for.

Perhaps the only thing in the *Mirror* that really nauseates me is its capacity for attaching sexual glamour to news items where, strictly, it's most irrelevant. Because of the term *miniskirt,* the very suffix *mini-* has achieved an accretion of erotic connotations that the *Mirror* uses to promote a frequently unjustified optimism. *Our Mini-Morals* means strictly that we have very few morals in swinging impoverished Britain, but it sounds instead as though we've achieved a new set of standards appropriate to the age. When the pound was devalued and people began to buy sterling heavily on the London market, the *Mirror* very cleverly brought sex even into that area of utter gloom. The pound was attractive, it seemed to say on its front page: people wanted it, they clawed at it as though it were a swinging dolly. And the headline, of course, was all about the *perky mini-pound.* God bless mini-England. Land of mini-hope and micro-glory. And God bless the *Mini-Mirror.*

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Tristram Shandy and the Game of Love

ROBERT ALTER

> So far was *Prignitz* from the truth in affirming that the fancy begat the nose, that on the contrary—the nose begat the fancy.
>
> III:38

Tristram Shandy is obviously a book that deserves to be taken very seriously, but precisely because playfulness is the essence of its seriousness, an attempt to "analyze" any of its central strategies runs the danger of sounding pedantically humorless and ponderous. This is painfully the case when one tries to discuss the function of the distinctive sexual comedy that pervades Sterne's novel. Sterne clearly had the kind of imagination that simply delighted in contriving ingenious references to the act and organs of generation that could be at once prudently oblique and boldly explicit. Walter Shandy's habit of clasping both hands over his codpiece "when any thing hugely tickled him" (VII:27) could be taken as an emblem for Sterne's own mentality, which seems almost always to have associated the most intense forms of imaginative pleasure with verbal handling of the pudenda. But without neglecting the obvious facts that the ubiquitous sexual wit of *Tristram Shandy* is meant to delight and that it tells us something about Sterne's mind, I would like to explore several related ways in which this sexual comedy is the indispensable means for the novelist to say what he has to say.

Sterne, like D. H. Lawrence, gave sexuality a large role in his fiction both because he assumed that, in fact, it played a large role in our lives, and because he found in the sexual relation and the physiology of sex very convenient models for still more comprehensive aspects of life. One of the early discussions in *Tristram Shandy* on the nature of hobbyhorses illustrates this use of sex as a paradigm for more general conditions and at the same time suggests Sterne's conception of sex as a universal preoccupation:

> A man and his HOBBY-HORSE, tho' I cannot say that they act and re-act exactly after the same manner in which the soul and body do upon each other: Yet doubtless there is a communication between them of some kind, and my opinion rather is, that there is something in it more of the manner of electrified bodies,—and that by means of the heated parts of the rider, which come immediately into contact with the back of the HOBBY-HORSE.—By long journies and much friction, it so happens that the body of the rider is at length fill'd as full of HOBBY-HORSICAL matter as it can hold.
>
> (I:24)

Tristram's amusingly ambiguous meta-

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phor aptly defines the interrelation of major themes in his *Life and Opinions.* The quasi-sexual consummation enacted on the back of the galloping hobbyhorse is described as one instance of "communication . . . of some kind" in this novel where so little communication of any kind takes place. But the metaphor is ultimately ironic, for a man's "communication" with his own hobbyhorse, his own private obsession, is precisely what prevents him from communicating with others because it exchanges the dialogue of self and other, for which the sexual relation serves as paradigm, for an onanistic monologue. (The idea of autoerotic gratification with self alone is perhaps reinforced here by the fact the hobbyhorse rider initially mounts the horse as male and completes the act in what appears to be a female role, "fill'd . . . full of HOBBY-HORSICAL matter.") If Tristram, moreover, following a traditional image, likens the union of body and soul to the union of male and female, he obliquely reminds us of still another breakdown of communication in his world—for the hobbyhorse of each of the Shandy brothers has so far got its head that the rider's rational soul has been carried clean out of touch with the body it is supposed to inhabit.

The ironic juxtaposition of the sexual model of communication with complete failure of communication, both within oneself and with others, strongly suggests that all the hobbyhorsing-around is sublimated sexual activity, in some ways a damagingly inadequate substitute for the real thing. Sterne's awareness of this implication of his own imagery is clearest in his treatment of Uncle Toby's passion for fortification. The erotic undermeanings of the military terminology are repeatedly stressed; the Widow Wadman, that "fair enemy of man's repose," can only make her entrance when the saps, mines, blinds, *et cetera,* have been temporarily set aside (VI:35); and at the very beginning of Uncle Toby's bewitchment with battlements, we are informed that, "Never did lover post down to a belov'd mistress with more heat and expectation, than my uncle *Toby* did, to enjoy this self-same thing in private." (II:5) It has often been observed that the shadow of impotence in some way passes over all of the Shandy males, even the bull, but it is important to add that in every instance either the charge of impotence is dubious or the condition temporary, for everyone in the book has a store of sexual energy, however deflected, refracted or transubshandeated.

There are, then, three general presuppositions made by Sterne in linking sex as a motif with communication as a theme, and all of them are assumptions likely to seem more than reasonable to us today, in a century whose influential moral critics include Buber, Freud and D. H. Lawrence. To begin with, communication is always very difficult and in fact very rarely takes place. Secondly, people are moved by sexual energies they scarcely recognize; their mental lives are caught up in sexual preoccupations which they are scarcely prepared to admit to themselves. Finally, the sexual act is itself an elemental act of communication which also provides a dramatic image for other kinds of communication. But Sterne is very much of his own age in relating the difficulties of communication to a characteristic problem of eighteenth-century British epistemology, and it will be useful to keep in mind two key terms of that philosophical tradition in order to understand why the *double-entendre* should be the basic rhetorical device—almost the narrative method—of *Tristram Shandy.*

The standard literary histories, with their habitual imprecision, describe Sterne's associative narration as "inspired" by the concept of the association of ideas that Locke enunciates in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* but Sterne himself makes it quite clear that there is one important issue upon which he means to attack Locke. If bulls were not—like most other things in *Tristram Shandy*—a suspect comparison, one might say that Sterne begins his Author's Preface (III:20) by waving a red flag at the Lockeans:

> Now, *Agelastes* [*i.e.,* the Unlaughing One] (speaking dispraisingly) sayeth, That there may be some wit in it [in Tristram's *Life*], for aught

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he knows,—but no judgment at all. And *Triptolemus* and *Phutatorius* agreeing thereto, ask, How is it possible there should? for that wit and judgment in this world never go together; inasmuch as they are two operations differing from each other as wide as east is from west.—So, says *Locke*,—so are farting and hickuping, say I.

Perhaps the broadest aim of Sterne's novel is to rehabilitate wit after more than half a century during which it had played a subservient role to judgment in British thought.* The two terms, in Locke's influential use of them, refer respectively to the faculty for seeing affinities, making connections, and the faculty for discriminating between things, making distinctions. The terms, as they are adopted by different eighteenth-century writers, never have an absolutely fixed or exact technical meaning; but, on the basis of a kind of consensus, one can say that judgment is associated with scientific intelligence, analytic and discursive reason, while wit is identified most typically with the poetic imagination, the characteristic activity of which is making metaphors—that is, discovering similitudes. (Sterne himself, as we shall see, uses "wit," "imagination," "fancy," and "fantasy," as approximate synonyms.) For Locke, true knowledge was to be gained through judgment; the function of wit in the mental economy was primarily that of an entertainer, providing, as Locke put it, "pleasant pictures and agreeable visions." The deleterious effect of this view on eighteenth-century poetic theory is well known: critics from Addison to Johnson assumed that the poet's judgment wholly determined the essential statement of the poem, while wit merely "illustrated" or attractively decorated the poem's basic meaning.

In the formal polemic of his Author's Preface, Sterne insists that wit is not subordinate to judgment but that the two are coordinate and indispensably complementary functions of the same organism—like farting and hiccupping, as the witty comparison has it. But in the fictional predicaments and narrative procedures of the novel itself, Sterne takes a more extreme position in defense of wit. Judgment, as we see plainly in the Shandy household, is precisely what keeps people from understanding one another and the world around them. It is analytic reason that forges its own crazily linked chains of mental association, insisting on its own private vocabulary, getting farther and farther from the facts, like the disputing academicians of the paradigmatic debate over the Stranger's nose in Slawkenbergius' Tale.

If judgment ultimately builds walls—witness Toby's palisades—between men, Sterne indicates three general ways in which communication may still take place. The first is unmediated feeling, the common bond of human sympathy that can bring Walter and Toby into momentary rapport, or that enables Trim, lecturing on the frailty of human life, to move his kitchen audience to tears. A second kind of communication, glimpsed in the novel, is the "conversation," as it was often called in the eighteenth century and earlier, between two bodies, male and female. Chapter 18 of Volume VI offers an apt illustration of this kind of communication. The chapter consists of a typical nondialogue between Mr. and Mrs. Shandy, in which the wife maddeningly and emptily echoes whatever question her husband puts to her. The last phrase of the chapter, however, informs us that the ill-starred discussion is taking place in bed on the appointed conjugal Sunday night: Walter Shandy's immediately preceding words to his wife suddenly light up with sexual double meanings, and we realize that at least one sort of conversation is still possible even between these mismatched mates.

The concluding strategy of this passage also illustrates the third, and most important, way in which communication takes place in *Tristram Shandy*—through wit. The two parties to the act of witty communication are, of course, not the two

* John Traugott has dealt at length with this aspect of the book in his important study, *Tristram Shandy's World: Sterne's Philosophical Rhetoric* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954), and I am indebted to him, although my own view of *Tristram Shandy* differs in some basic respects from his.

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characters but the author and his reader. In this instance, as virtually everywhere in the novel, Sterne has set up a rhetorical contrivance and a narrative situation that will encourage the reader to grasp partly hidden connections; so that, in terms of Lockean epistemology, the writer's statement is one that must be understood by perceiving similitudes, not by making distinctions. Wit, then, is the basis for the whole peculiar narrative method of Sterne's novel. And wit for Sterne is chiefly sexual because, as he makes abundantly clear through his own comments and procedures, sexuality energizes the imagination, invites it to free and rapid play. This is largely what he has in mind when, after the ostensible digression of Volume VII has ended with dancing peasant girls in sun-drenched Gascony, he begins the subsequent volume with a defense of his narrative method:

> —But softly—for in these sportive plains, and under this genial sun, where at this instant all flesh is running out piping, fiddling, and dancing to the vintage, and every step that's taken, the judgment is surprised by the imagination, I defy, notwithstanding all that has been said upon *straight lines* in sundry pages of my book—I defy the best cabbage planter that ever existed, whether he plants backwards or forwards, it makes little difference in the account (except that he will have more to answer for in the one case than in the other)—I defy him to go on coolly, critically, and canonically, planting his cabbages one by one, in straight lines, and stoical distances, especially if slits in petticoats are unsew'd up—without ever and anon straddling out, or sidling into some bastardly digression.

Sterne's justification here of his own zigzag narrative shows where the inaccuracy lies in the fashionable modern conception of his novel as a precursor to experiments in stream-of-consciousness writing. His narration keeps shooting off in different directions, not in order to reproduce realistically the contents of consciousness, but rather to demonstrate the essential—and pleasurable—waywardness of the human mind. It is one of the profound ironies of *Tristram Shandy* that the represented world of frustration, interruption and constant limitation is set against the distant background of an imagined world where grapes and nutbrown maidens ripen under the sun for plucking. The psychological fact that the mind, hedged around and harrassed by the intractable world of actual experience, naturally goes sliding off after every slit petticoat to imagined fulfillments, is the key to Sterne's technique. Like most of the great comic writers, Sterne ultimately envisages sexuality as lawless but not chaotic—it is an escape from arbitrary laws and limitations imposed from without into the freedom of harmonious play, dancing and piping on sportive plains. Sterne's narrative method is an attempt to embody such playful freedom in verbal form; surely one reason why the terms of formal rhetoric are so frequently invoked in the novel is to remind us how independent Tristram's story is of the constricting "straight lines" prescribed by the traditional rhetoricians and by all those who insist on the primacy of judgment in the meaningful use of language.

What is most ingenious about Sterne's strategy is the way he uses the presumed ubiquity of sexual imagining to implicate the reader in the waywardness of the narration, making him an active party to it. The meditation on the vintage dance of all flesh which begins Volume VIII is effective, not only because it is a digression in defense of digressions, preceded by a long digression and followed by a shorter one, or because its artfully hesitant syntax, its dashes upon dashes and parentheses, all demonstrate how "the judgment is surprised by the imagination." Equally important is the way in which the fantastically involuted sexual puns make it impossible for the mind of the reader to follow Sterne's crooked line without compounding its crookedness, veering off in pursuit of meanings other than the ostensible ones as word after word reveals an unsewn slit in its petticoat. One already begins to suspect bawdy implication with "all flesh running out piping . . . ," but there is no doubt whatever by the time we reach the disquisition on cabbage planting. "Planting" is a low colloquialism for insert-

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ing the male member, or, more generally, for sexual intercourse. "Cabbage" is extant at least in nineteenth-century sources as an epithet for the female pudendum, and the context here invites the inference that the meaning was current in Sterne's time as well. The agricultural planting backwards and forwards, then, begins to call up images of bedroom gymnastics, an association reinforced by the final "straddling out, or sidling into some bastardly digression." (The latter phrase, of course, may at the same time simply refer to carefree promiscuity.) More particularly, the two-directional planting suggests sexual entry at more than one orifice: the one "case" or the other puns on the familiar Renaissance term for the vagina, and there may even be a parallel, auditory pun in the accented syllable of "account." The reader's judgment has indeed been surprised by his imagination.

The effect, in sum, of this elaborate rhetorical strategy is to make the reader Sterne's accomplice. The sexual images here, as elsewhere in the novel, are both means and model for the writer. The picture of uninhibited sexual exploration superimposed on the orderly rows of the cabbage patch sets up sexuality as a model for pleasurable lawlessness over against restriction, but Sterne's interest in the application of the contrasted images is aesthetic and epistemological, not moral. He wants to make us experience how the mind itself is creatively lawless, resisting the regularity and sequaciousness of discursive reason; and he uses his readers' presumed sexual preoccupations as the means of leading them to grasp distant connections, to "tune in" the superimposed sexual images—in short, to use their wit, or imagination. "The truest respect which you can pay the reader's understanding," Sterne writes, surely with his technique of sexual double meanings in mind, "is to halve this matter amicably, and leave him something to imagine . . . ; for my own part, I am eternally paying him compliments of this kind, and do all that lies in my power to keep his imagination as busy as my own." (II:11) As a kind of comic declaration of faith in the powers of the erotic imagination, Sterne carries to an extreme his program of halving matters with the reader by leaving him two blank pages (VI:38) to paint the Widow Wadman for himself, "as like your mistress as you can—as unlike your wife as your conscience will let you."

It is an important part of the novel's method not only to implicate the reader in the erotic imaginings but also to make him aware of his entanglement: in this way he is forced silently to concede the power of imagination that both exists in him and can get through to him from the printed page. Tristram delights in catching the reader by the scruff of the neck just as he is stooping to peep through some bedroom keyhole. Or more often, just as *she* is stooping, since it is obviously more tempting and more efficacious to show the ubiquity of erotic imagination by demonstrating its existence in the supposedly pure-minded sex. Thus Tristram invokes "That female nicety, Madam, and inward cleanliness of mind and fancy, in your sex, which makes you so much the awe of ours," but then he immediately speaks of his fair reader as "imagining," and he is quick to provide her two or three *double-entendres* to imagine with: "You will imagine, Madam, that my uncle *Toby* had contracted all this from the very source;—that he had spent a great part of his time in converse with your sex; and that, from a thorough knowledge of you. . ." (I:21) More typically, Tristram carefully edges Madam over to the keyhole, then pulls her up abruptly as she assumes the position of prurient curiosity. This moment in the narration of Uncle Toby's sartorial preparations for the Widow Wadman campaign recalls many similar ones in the book: "As for the thin scarlet breeches, they had been unripp'd by the taylor between the legs, and left at *sixes and sevens*—Yes, Madam,—but let us govern our fancies." (IX:3)

Sex, then, is the hobbyhorse we all ride, willy-nilly, and precisely because we are all in this same saddle, communication can take place through the artful manipulation of our common sexual preoccupation. Sterne, by establishing a literary structure

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in which a flick of the wrist will turn up a sexual underside to virtually anything, has created a world where the possibilities for the effective operation of wit are unlimited. It is in general his procedure to provide within the body of the novel small replicas of the structure of the whole work; and this world of infinite *double-entendre* which is such a major aspect of *Tristram Shandy* is hilariously reproduced in miniature in Slawkenbergius' Tale. The Strasburgers of the Tale have only one thing on their minds, and it is of course a sexual thing—the Stranger's prodigious nose, with its carefully contrived phallic associations. Everything in the Tale, but most especially Sterne's humor, revolves around that ambiguous member:

> Let it suffice to say, that the riot and disorder it occasioned in the *Strasburgers* fantacies was so general—such an overpowering mastership had it got of all the faculties of the *Strasburgers* minds—so many strange things, with equal confidence on all sides, and with equal eloquence in all places, where spoken and sworn to concerning it, that turned the whole stream of all discourse and wonder towards it—every soul, good and bad—rich and poor—learned and unlearned—doctor and student—mistress and maid—gentle and simple—nun's flesh and woman's flesh, in *Strasburg* spent their time in hearing tidings about it—every eye in *Strasburg* languished to see it—every finger—every thumb in *Strasburg* burned to touch it.
>
> (IV: before 1)

By exposing man in these various ways as an irrepressibly sexual animal, Sterne not only demonstrates the power of the imagination but he also reveals what he conceives to be the fatuity of theoretical reason, or of all purportedly scientific intellection. Walter Shandy, the most wrong-headed, high-flying reasoner in the book, appropriately is the one to issue a general denunciation of man's sexual nature—to Mrs. Shandy!—deploring in "so exalted and godlike a Being as man" that base passion "which couples and equals wise men with fools, and makes us come out of our caverns and hiding-places more likely satyrs and four-footed beasts than men." (IX:33) To these last words one could usefully juxtapose a moment that occurs a few pages earlier in the novel (IX:24) when Tristram's tender sentiments for the mad Maria collapse into farce as he suddenly imagines her carefully studying a resemblance between him and her goat.

The general implication of Sterne's witty treatment of reason would seem to be that the intellectual life is a kind of shaky superstructure built on a universal base of sexuality. The highfalutin language of the intellect is repeatedly and ingeniously reduced to plain sexual facts, as we see, for example, in the two culminating items of Tristram's list of logical arguments—"the *Argumentum Tripodium,* which is never used but by the woman against the man;—and the *Argumentum ad Rem,* which, contrarywise, is made use of by the man only against the woman." (I:21) Sterne goes still further than this in offering at several points the teasing suggestion that the sexual organs *are* the real mind, or perhaps more seriously, that the essential function of the mind is an extension of the function of the sexual parts: "the organs and faculties of perception, can, by nothing in this world, be so aptly typified and explained as by that one thing which *Dolly*'s hand is in search of." (II:2)

To cling to the intellectual superstructure in ignorance or contempt of the sexual base is, in terms of the running debate with Locke, to be entangled in chains of ideas at best tenuously connected with actualities, to prefer systems of words to engagement in reality. Uncle Toby, that most candid of hobbyhorse riders, is quite open in confessing this preference to Trim, who has been explaining that women are to be approached "by trying as we do with our artillery in the field, by raising or letting down their breeches till we hit the mark." Uncle Toby's answer is straight to a very different point: "—I like the comparison better than the thing itself." (IX:8)

What happens ultimately in *Tristram Shandy* is that the implications of the two epistemological categories bequeathed by Locke to the eighteenth century are completely reversed. Judgment, or analytic rea-

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son, far from being the instrument for precise, scientific knowledge of the real world, merely originates fantastic mental games. Uncle Toby, in fact, is more successful with his hobbyhorse than his brother is precisely because he rides it within the enclosed circle of a game, while Walter is constantly setting his own mount at full gallop into a stone wall of reality. As judgment is associated in the novel with preposterous artifice, wit is associated with nature—because it is the instrument for perceiving the real connections between the multifarious shenanigans of man the comic animal and the physical facts in which they originate. Sterne offers another of his ingenious paradigms for the argument of the whole novel in the episode of Phutatorius' chestnut (IV:27). The dignity of the visitation dinner has been suddenly shattered by a most uncanonical interjection from Phutatorius: the reason for the cry is a hot chestnut, which has rolled down into the clergyman's lamentably unbuttoned codpiece. Others at the table assume that Phutatorius has been moved by a point of canon law in the debate between Yorick and his colleagues, and they all begin to spin their own mental cobwebs of conjecture as to the precise motive and rhetorical function of the interjection. "Yet I say," Tristram comments, "was *Yorick* never once in any domicile of *Phutatorious*'s brain—but the true cause of his exclamation lay at least a yard below." This is the model for the function of sexual wit in *Tristram Shandy* as both source of imaginative pleasure and instrument of epistemological critique: brains boil over with schemes, systems, projects, hypotheses, analyses and explanations, but, for all the heating of heads, the true cause of events is generally a yard below.

It is significant in at least two ways that so much of this sexual comedy in Sterne's novel should be associated with the idea of impotence. If sex is a basic kind of communication, impotence—particularly when it is *not* a permanent state—is the obvious paradigm for interrupted or faulty communication. The second paragraph of the novel provides us a dramatic instance of a man's being interrupted *in medias res,* the check here resulting from Mrs. Shandy's untimely inquiry about the family timepiece. This interruption in turn sets off a whole chain of apparent impotencies, beginning with the hapless homunculus who now arrives at his uterine goal too late, "miserably spent—his muscular strength and virility worn down to a thread." But since communication of a limited sort is nevertheless possible in the world of *Tristram Shandy,* it is logical that the charges of impotence against the sundry Shandy males can generally be attributed to the pure malice of gossip combined with the mere unfulfilled threat of circumstances.

Yet the physiological fact of male susceptibility to impotence has a more far-reaching application in the novel, for it is ultimately Sterne's most effective image of the human condition itself. Temporary impotence in general is a condition with great comic potential—witness Boswell's up-again, down-again bedroom frustrations in the *London Journal*—because it reduces man the godlike creature to a silly puppet, at the mercy of his own sympathetic nervous system. As Sterne elaborates the implications of this amusingly woeful state, it becomes the means of focusing a profound comic vision of man the high intender fated to low pratfalls, floundering in a world of unmanageable and erratic circumstances that continually thwart him. Tristram, with his truncated nose, name and male member, is Everyman in this world; his father, in one of his recurring fits of eloquence, very aptly expounds the general symbolic meaning of his son's unchosen name—"Unhappy *Tristram!* child of wrath! child of decrepitude! interruption! mistake! and discontent!" (IV:19) At another point (V:36), Sterne takes pains to remind us of the etymological application of Tristram's name by citing the supposedly Aristotelian maxim, "*Quod omne animal post coitum est* triste." The statement is doubly significant in the novel because every living creature is inevitably in a sad state after coition whether he has participated in it or, like Tristram in Volume I, simply been born out of it. And, in

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view of the repeated threats to almost everyone's virility, one might add that in the world of *Tristram Shandy* man is just as likely to be dejected before as after coition. The precariousness, then, of that sexual connection to which we attach so much importance, its fleetingness and concomitant disappointments, are emblems of the frailty and brevity of human life, with its astonishing variety of frustrations and illusory fulfillments:

> It is a great pity—but 'tis certain from every day's observation of man, that he may be set on fire like a candle, at either end—provided there is a sufficient wick standing out; if there is not—there's an end of the affair; and if there is—by lighting it at the bottom, as the flame in that case has the misfortune generally to put out itself—there's an end of the affair again.
>
> (VIII:15)

Sterne's comedy, for all its appearances of mere zaniness and teasing caprice, is based upon a very sober conception of the general state of man. The creature that presumes itself to be essentially rational, capable of using its judgment to parcel out reality and then manipulate it, is seen as a draggle-feathered shuttlecock, buffeted about by the winds of chance. For the faculties pertaining to judgment ultimately belong to the category of power, as science itself implies knowing reality to control it, and it is against this larger meaning of power that Sterne uses his sexual paradigm to show the full extent of human impotence. Wit, on the other hand, belongs to the category of appreciation, and Sterne seems to suggest through his development of wit into a mode of fiction that if nothing very hopeful can be done in or about the human condition, we at least afford ourselves through our human posturings an endless spectacle for delighted contemplation.

Sterne's originality as a comic artist is manifest in the way he adapts the model of the sexual act and the energies of the sexual imagination to express this sense of life. Because sexuality involves, from the male point of view, the challenge to power, and, from any point of view, the idea of pleasure, Sterne is able to counterpose the two categories that are his ultimate philosophic concerns within a single area of experience. It would be foolhardy to attempt to explain any masterpiece through a single formula, but surely a major reason why *Tristram Shandy* is one of the great comic novels is Sterne's brilliantly imaginative success in focusing the pleasurable associations of sex through the wit generated by sex on the dizzying possibilities of frustrated intention imaged in the sexual relation.

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REAPPRAISALS: II

Sayers, Lord Peter and God

CAROLYN HEILBRUN

Dorothy L. Sayers, the creator of Lord Peter Wimsey, has been dead eleven years, and there is many a detective story reader, including some who never read any detective stories but hers, who would, if they could, offer her resurrection on condition that she produce more Lord Peter novels. Over thirty years ago, alas, Lord Peter (having married, solved a most cunning and intricate crime, and wept out his horror at the murderer's execution in the arms of his new-wed wife) departed forever from the world of the detective novel.

True, he made one or two casual, short appearances—in the course of one of which his first baby was born—but with the coming of the war his creator finally succeeded in her earlier determination to marry Peter off and get rid of him. It is forty-five years since Lord Peter's first appearance, and all of the books about him are still in print in hard cover. Lord Peter's admirers continue to turn to his adventures more than three decades after his creator abandoned detective fiction to take up the mysteries of theology.

Dorothy Sayers was no fly-by-night writer of thrillers. Not only did she write superbly constructed detective plots, played out in witty comedies of manners; she was also a scholar of great erudition who had taken first honors in medieval literature at Oxford, and who was to become, after the disappearance of Lord Peter, one of the outstanding translators and interpreters of Dante, as well as a formidable Christian apologist. She has written what is widely accepted as the best history of the detective story and has managed, in addition, to draw the fire of such notable critics as Edmund Wilson, Q. D. Leavis and W. H. Auden, and the attention of everyone who has ever written about detective fiction. In Howard Haycraft's *The Art of the Mystery Story*, a collection of every notable essay on the detective story written prior to 1948, her name is mentioned more frequently than any save that of the fictional Sherlock Holmes. Indeed, Q. D. Leavis, with that lack of courtesy as marked in the Leavises as their astuteness, railed at her in *Scrutiny* with such vehemence as positively to affirm Miss Sayers's importance as a literary figure. Can Agatha Christie or Erle Stanley Gardner match that? Eleven years dead, Dorothy Sayers is yet a literary and social phenomenon to be grappled with.

So is Lord Peter. It is certainly arguable that no marriage in literary history has caused as much interest as Lord Peter's. If female readers complained that Peter was throwing himself away on Harriet Vane, there was a strong male faction who insisted, according to his creator, that Harriet was thrown away on Peter. As these two fell into each other's arms at the end of *Gaudy Night* and spent the subsequent hours, before Lord Peter rushed off on one of his assignments for the Foreign Office, kissing each other madly in a punt, Dorothy Sayers found herself with a best seller on her hands. Hers was a success that the years, as is not their usual fashion in the matter of detective novels, have steadily increased.

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Sherlock Holmes apart, Lord Peter alone continues to sell by the thousands. The reasons, some further to seek than others, are myriad.

One must begin by saying that Miss Sayers wrote superbly well. She was never guilty of sloppy syntax, careless grammar or weak vocabulary: if her erudition was flamboyant, her command of the language was, in this age, dangerously near to deserving the epithet unique. It was possible for the Professor of English to read her books without, as is the unfortunate habit of that creature, making irritable jottings in the margin. Then too, she seemed to know more even than the professors about so many things. Her presentation, for example, of the art and craft of campanology (bell ringing) in *The Nine Tailors* was so expert that she was reputedly invited to become vice-president of the Campanological Society of Great Britain, despite the fact that until her book was finished she had never even seen bells rung. She reported on the painstaking study involved, in a letter to Michael Gilbert:

> The work I put in on that job was some of the hardest I ever did in my life. It was spread over two years . . . and it included incalculable hours spent in writing out sheets and sheets of changes, until I could do any method accurately in my head. Also, I had to visualize, from the pages of instruction to ringers, both what it looked like and what it felt like to handle a bell and to acquire "rope-sight." There was, further, a good deal of technical stuff about bell cages, bell inscriptions, upkeep of bells, and so on. . . . In the end, the experts could discern only (I think) three small technical errors which betrayed the lack of practical experience.

People have got Ph.D.'s for less, as more than one of us can testify.

Most important, perhaps, the conversation of Lord Peter and his associates is in the best tradition of the comedy of manners—which may explain why, when she had tired of writing detective novels about him, Miss Sayers determined to put him on the stage. Kingsley Amis, in a clever book on James Bond, has observed, with perfect veracity, that readers want to be Bond. But Lord Peter's audience, if they engage in any fantasy at all about that sprig of the peerage, dream of having him to tea. They don't want to *be* Lord Peter, only to know him, for the sake of hearing him talk. Nothing is harder, surely, than to wrench bits of conversation from their context and hold them up for admiration. Still—here is Lord Peter, in his first book, about to depart with his "man" Bunter and Inspector Parker to examine a nude body which has inconveniently turned up in someone's bathtub:

> "Gloves? Here. My stick, my torch, the lampblack, the forceps, knife, pill-boxes—all complete? What money have I got? That'll do. I knew a man once, Parker, who let a world-famous poisoner slip through his fingers, because the machine on the Underground took nothing but pennies. There was a queue at the booking office and the man at the barrier stopped him, and while they were arguing about accepting a five-pound-note (which was all he had) for a twopenny ride to Baker Street, the criminal had sprung into a Circle train, and was next heard of in Constantinople, disguised as an elderly Church of England clergyman touring with his niece. Are we all ready? Go!"

It will be noticed that Lord Peter, true to the tradition of the Comedy of Manners, brings (as Auden has said) more energy to his conversation than the situation requires. And more erudition. Here he is in his next to last book, having got himself and a lady into a punt on the river at Oxford:

> "Is it your pleasure to go up or down? . . . You have only to command. My ear is open like a greedy shark to catch the tunings of a voice divine."
>
> "Great heavens! Where did you find that?"
>
> "That, though you might not believe it, is the crashing conclusion of a sonnet by Keats. True, it is a youthful effort; but there are some things that even youth does not excuse."
>
> "Let us go down-stream. I need solitude to recover from the shock."
>
> "Admirable woman! Would you now prefer to be independent and take the pole? I admit it is better fun to punt than to be punted, and that a desire to have all the fun is nine-tenths of the law of chivalry."

Of course, Miss Sayers's plots were ab-

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solutely sound, fair to the reader, and put together with an eye for detail and knowledge of construction that made her the Mies van der Rohe of the detective story. Josephine Tey, Sayers's only rival in the creation of detective novels that are also masterly novels of manners, had great difficulty with plots, borrowing them, getting friends to help, and leaving them, in the end, full of holes and excessive coincidence. Her detective novels are superb nonetheless, but the achievement of Sayers in combining murder and manners must, in the comparison, awaken special admiration.

What it comes down to is that intelligent people enjoy reading books about people at least as intelligent as they. Perhaps they will settle for a goodish plot, and a detective, the acuteness of whose deductive powers compensates, *faute de mieux,* for the dullness of his conversation, but they would rather find themselves in the presence of a first-rate mind and a witty tongue. Can it possibly be a coincidence that before the Second World War, or the disappearance of Lord Peter, detective stories were read by almost everyone known to have a brain. See Marjorie Nicolson's "The Professor and the Detective Story," or merely note the fact that C. F. Kittridge, Harvard's great Shakespeare and Chaucer scholar, left that fortunate institution one of the best collections of detective stories extant: evidence of a long addiction. Today, alas, the professors who like their spare time reading lashed with manners and wit are still apt to read Dorothy Sayers. That tough quality of mind which characterizes her books is, today, to be found only in the learned, or at least the less widely read, journals—isolated from frivolity.

I had always supposed, when I began reading the exploits of Lord Peter Wimsey, that only women could appreciate him—particularly after he had got himself involved with Harriet Vane. But a quick survey of my acquaintance indicates that this is oddly wrong. Lord Peter may be every woman's idea of the perfect man—his lack of height, indeed, is his only drawback, if one does not prefer strong, silent men on principle—and all women may secretly concede that they know of no man who could really love Harriet Vane. Nevertheless, men read the books too, and while, according to James Sandoe, "the Vane," as he calls her, makes many readers howl with rage, they don't stop reading on that account. Jacques Barzun, infuriated by how much of the contemporary detective's private life he is forced to imbibe along with his mystery plots, recently cast a nostalgic glance backward to *Busman's Honeymoon,* despite the fact that the interesting revelations of the marriage bed play no small part in that novel. For the sake of Miss Sayers's writing, he was apparently prepared to put up with them.

Most readers are surprised to discover that Miss Sayers herself was married, and to a man who must have been very dashing, indeed. At least, he was a famous war correspondent in the First World War, and was named Captain Oswald Atherton Fleming, a name even more romantic sounding than Peter Wimsey. (One pauses to send up a silent prayer of thanksgiving that Miss Sayers did not decide to write under the name of Fleming: the confusion that might have resulted between the creators of James Bond and Peter Wimsey is simply too terrible to contemplate.) Miss Sayers and Fleming were married in 1926, and lived with their adopted son in rural England, in Witham Essex, near her girlhood home, until Fleming's death in 1950. In 1942 Howard Haycraft wrote: "Miss Sayers is a cheerful, gregarious lady, who owns as one of her chief recreations motor-cycling." Her husband once published a book on cooking dedicated: "To my wife, who can make an omelette." He doesn't mention whether the omelette would have suited the fastidious taste of Lord Peter, but it is a fact that Miss Sayers was understandably annoyed at having Lord Peter's tastes constantly confounded with her own. People were, for example, always offering her glasses of old brandy, which she never drank and was unable to digest. But her life is, perhaps, sufficiently interesting to permit me, as Lord Peter would say, to weigh in and give you such facts as I have been able to garner: while the accumulat-

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ing of them might have been child's play to Lord Peter, they would, I like to think, have presented something of a challenge to Chief-Inspector Parker.

She was born in Oxford in 1893. Her mother was Helen Leigh Sayers, whose great-uncle had been, in his day, a well-known columnist for *Punch;* her father was headmaster of the Cathedral Choir School where, in the words of his daughter, "it was part of his duty to instruct small demons with angel-voices in the elements of the ancient Roman tongue." When she was four and a half, he was presented with the living at Bluntisham-cum-Earith, in Huntingdonshire, an isolated country parish. Years later she was still to recollect her first arrival at the rectory wearing a brown pelisse and a bonnet trimmed with feathers, accompanied by her nurse and her maiden aunt, who carried a parrot in a cage: Victorianism could ask no more.

Indeed, she was to bear all her life, to those with the experience to perceive these things, the attributes of an only child: inner resources, the security of one's unique position in an adult world, the loneliness that, for strength or weakness, forever leaves its mark. She was alone and, as she puts it, "rising seven," when her father appeared one morning in the nursery and said: "I think, my dear, that you are now old enough to learn Latin." "It seemed to me," she continues, "that it would be a very fine thing to learn Latin, and would place me in a position of superiority to my mother, my aunt, and my nurse." She was later to regret that, although her grip on Latin appears, to an ignorant American, to rival Ben Jonson's, she did not speak Latin as fluently as French, or feel as much at home with it. This she attributed to the fact that Latin is not taught as a spoken language, and to the mysterious preference of Latin teachers for classical over medieval Latin. In an essay entitled: "The Teaching of Latin: A New Approach," published posthumously, she was to outline her own remedies for this condition.

French she learned from a French governess, with whom she constantly conversed, in that lady's tongue. Still fluent in the language years later, she could allow herself, in the Wimsey novels, to include long letters in French: having somewhere along the line endowed Lord Peter with a Francophile uncle who was, in fact, like Peter's mother, one-eighth French, she was able to season her works with indelicate comments on the art of love, delivered in the language that robs them of their indelicacy.

She was one of the first women to obtain an Oxford degree, from Somerville College, in 1915. The year after, she published a book of poems entitled *Opus 1,* part of a series called *Adventurers All,* in which Blackwell published poets "unknown to fame." (*Opus 1* was ninth in the series, the seventh having been *The Burning Wheel* by Aldous Huxley.) Since the last poem was dated June 23, 1915, and is entitled "Last Morning in Oxford," the assumption that these are all undergraduate poems is perhaps allowable. They are mainly derivative, imitating many styles, full of classical references, expressing an enormous love for Oxford, and taking an epigraph from Belloc, whom she apparently admired. Certainly she was, for many years, to share his easy anti-Semitism and some aspects of his religiosity.

Two years later came her second book of poems, *Catholic Tales and Christian Songs,* again with an epigraph by Belloc. It includes a playlet, "The Mocking of Christ," which adumbrates her later religious plays but is, in the words of James Sandoe, "probably not actable." She was, thereafter, to publish a number of individual poems, some of which Mr. Sandoe, in his invaluable Sayers bibliography, has been able to trace. In *Gaudy Night,* as devotees will remember in this connection, Sayers allows Harriet Vane to write the octet of a sonnet, describing Oxford as the still center of the spinning world (see T. S. Eliot). To this is eventually added a sestet by Lord Peter which, if not great, is considerably better than the octet. It is one thing to have your heroine write eight passable lines of poetry, and something else again to have your hero complete the sonnet with six lines that are more than passable. But then Lord Peter had amazed *Newsweek* by wooing his bride

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"with Catullan love poetry in the original Latin."

An account of what Miss Sayers was doing in the years between her departure from Oxford and Lord Peter's first appearance in 1923 contains what she called "lamentable lacunae." We know that she was at one time a school teacher, instructing girls of fifteen and sixteen in German, but it is not certain that this dip into pedagogy did not occur during her undergraduate days. Harriet Vane was poor while at college, and conceivably Miss Sayers was, too. We do know, in any event, that she went to work in the advertising business, for S. H. Benson, the largest British advertising agency (which now has a plaque in the office to commemorate *Murder Must Advertise*), and was probably the first, certainly the last, to travel from whatever the English call Madison Avenue, through the writing of successful novels, to the careful exposition of orthodox theology. Hers was a perilous journey, but hardly a haphazard one, for it must be remembered that her honors were in medieval literature, that Lord Peter collected incunabula, and that her theology was distinctly medieval. The one date we can actually lay hold of is that in 1917, 1918 and 1919 she was, with others, editor of *Oxford Poetry*, the "others" in 1919 being Siegfried Sassoon. Perhaps it was during these years that she began to realize that her talents were overwhelmingly for prose, and that what one critic has called "her massive, severe and orderly intelligence" was particularly suited to the (ideally) mathematical exactness of detective fiction. At any rate, sometime about 1920 Peter Wimsey was conceived. She hoped, she has told us, to produce something "less like a conventional detective story and more like a novel."

She claims to have suffered great labor and pain in finding a publisher for *Whose Body?*, but since she set out to write the book no earlier than 1921, and it was published in 1923, the labor and pain must have seemed more extended than, in fact, they were. Although Lord Peter did not at first gain the following she had hoped for him, it was in the decade after his appearance that the detective novel, which had labored under a rather shaky reputation, was to achieve its post-Holmesian heights. Careful of their facts, she and her fellow writers nonetheless tried to make the detective novel (as in the days of Collins and Le Fanu) "more a novel of manners than a crossword puzzle." It was clear from the first Sayers novel that she was able to combine exactness of detail and authenticity of background with perception, wit and humor. With scholarly exactitude she took to adding errata notes to later editions, once, it is said, because she had made a clubman smoke an inferior cigar with a classic port; in *Whose Body?* Lord Peter, thinking of Bunter, whom he has sent to an auction, ruminates: "Hope he doesn't miss the *Four Sons of Aymon*. Still, there *is* another copy of that—in the Vatican." Later editions carried a footnote: "Lord Peter's wits were wool-gathering. The book is in the possession of Earl Spencer. The Brocklebury copy is incomplete, the last five signatures being altogether missing, but is unique in possessing the colophon." The scholarly habit of mind proved beautifully suited to the detective novel. As for Lord Peter, himself a scholar as well as a gentleman, he was from the beginning to show what God could have done with men if only He'd had the money.

For Miss Sayers had created the Duke of Denver, Lord Peter's brother, as the richest peer in England: a stroke of genius. It is a frightful nuisance if one's detective, with no police department funds behind him, has to cavil over minor matters such as hiring a plane to fly the Atlantic, or setting up an entire establishment of female detectives. It seemed therefore logical, not to say obvious, to involve this expensive duke in a murder trial of his own, held, by law, in the House of Lords. In this second novel, as in her first, Miss Sayers had, so to speak, to fall back on the confession of the murderer: there was plenty of evidence, but no proof. She was not, however, to be caught out that way again. Three years elapsed between the publication of *Whose Body?* and the Duke of Denver's case, *Clouds of Witness;* but from these two exercises in ingenuity Miss

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Sayers never looked back. Thereafter, almost every year brought another Lord Peter mystery, and sometimes a second work as well. In 1927, *Unnatural Death,* in 1928, *The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club* and *Lord Peter Views the Body,* a collection of short stories which had meanwhile been appearing in magazines: Lord Peter was well launched.

Apparently, however, her thoughts, turning back to medieval literature, were not wholly with Lord Peter. In 1929, the only year until 1937 without an appearance by that gentleman, she published a translation of *Tristan in Brittany,* by Thomas the Anglo-Norman, with an introduction by George Saintsbury. Even as she was translating a fragment of one of the world's great love stories, she was preparing a passionate trap for Lord Peter, with the "infanticidal intention" of doing away with him. She had discovered that any character who remains static, to be put through "a repertory of tricks and attitudes" soon becomes "a monstrous weariness to his maker." Of course, such being the way of the world, no sooner had she tired of him than the adoring multitudes began, slowly at first, to assemble and cheer Peter on. It was then, she tells us, that she became aware that she would either have to turn Peter into a complete human being, or murder him. Years later, when a reader complained that Peter had lost all his elfin charm, she was able tartly to reply that any man of forty-five with elfin charm ought to be put in a lethal chamber.

It has been said by many people—and Miss Sayers was well aware of this—that she had fallen in love with Peter herself, and put Harriet Vane into the novels in order to have the perfect love affair on paper. Suffice it to point out that if Miss Sayers was portraying herself in Harriet Vane (apart from the events of her early life, which is a different matter), she certainly went no distance at all to make the Vane attractive. That Peter should have loved her may well have been an eccentricity; that Harriet should not be more obviously lovable was a genuine gesture of art.

Harriet appeared, then, in *Strong Poison,* 1930, rescued from almost certain death by Wimsey, who fell in love with her in the confines of dreary Old Bailey, where she was on trial for her life. Miss Sayers did not, however, thereupon proceed to write out the love story in a frenzy of vicarious passion, as some who have failed to study the chronology of her novels suggest. The same year as *Strong Poison, The Documents in the Case* appeared, Miss Sayers's only non-Peter detective novel, written in collaboration with Robert Eustace (the pen name of Eustace Barton, who seems frequently to have provided the scientific information in novels written by others). An epistolary novel, which turns on an abstruse scientific fact, this work wholly lacks the usual wit and élan of the Lord Peter works; its length renders it inferior to the straight (non-Peter) detective short story which she wrote so well. After *The Documents in the Case* came *The Five Red Herrings* (published in the United States as *Suspicious Characters*—Miss Sayers, indeed, was almost unique in those days in having only one of her novels succumb to the transatlantic mania for changing titles). This was a return to the classic "time-table puzzle" and is, probably, the least popular of the Lord Peter novels. It is set in Scotland, and neither Peter nor Bunter ever seems really to belong there.*

The next year Harriet Vane was back, in *Have His Carcase,* finding a corpse for herself, and playing hard-to-get with Peter Wimsey. As Miss Sayers has told us, these two, having found one another, adamantly refused, in the independent way of good fictional characters, to fall into each other's arms. Perhaps annoyed with them, Miss Sayers sent Lord Peter off to work in an advertising agency: she had waited nearly ten years to make use of her experience in this field. *Murder Must Advertise* is a clever presentation of the lunacies of advertising, but

* In that same year, 1931, *The Floating Admiral* appeared, the first of three detective novels written by at least six members of the Detection Club. Each member would write a chapter. These are now out of print, and since almost all their authors are amongst the old masters of the detective novel, it might well be to someone's profit to reissue them.

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compared to the current gambols of Madison Avenue, has a certain air of naïveté. Harriet Vane does not appear here and is mentioned, by allusion only, in one sentence. In 1933 Miss Sayers published another collection of stories, *Hangman's Holiday,* which included not only four Lord Peter stories, and two others, but six Montague Egg tales; Montague Egg, wine salesman, Miss Sayers's other detective, being strictly commercial and lower-middle class, has a charm of his own wholly different from Lord Peter's. While he does not irritate, neither does he entrance. Perhaps Miss Sayers was trying, among other things, to make use of the knowledge of wines and spirits she had (one supposes) got up for Lord Peter's sake.

The Nine Tailors, the campanology novel, interrupted yet further the Wimsey-Vane affair. Indeed, by the time Miss Sayers returned to her hero's love life, she was to discover that he had been loving one woman for five years without even having kissed her, a remarkable record for a man so carefully trained in the *métier d'amant* by the proper French mistresses. There was Lord Peter, forty-five years old, and likely to have impaired *les forces vitales* by so extended an orgy of continence. She had to get the two of them together, since if they didn't go mad with frustrate desire, her readers surely would.

About this time, Miss Sayers tells us, she was thinking of writing a "straight novel" about "an Oxford woman graduate who found, in middle life, and after a reasonably satisfactory experience of marriage and motherhood, that her real vocation and full emotional fulfillment were to be found in the creative life of the intellect." This idea, with which, incidentally, many educational institutions in the United States are now coming to grips in a determined way, was considerably startling at the time; Miss Sayers, however, was further determined in it by the coincidence of being asked, just then, to deliver a speech at her college Gaudy dinner. (It is absolutely no use an American's trying exactly to define a "Gaudy"; it appears to be an annual college dinner with some, but not all, of the attributes of an American college reunion.) She suddenly realized that her "straight" Oxford novel, made to revolve around Peter and Harriet, could also be made to solve the mating habits of these two over-intellectual people. Witty and erudite, gracious and warm they certainly were, but it was not always clear why Peter did not simply knock Harriet down and, in the manner of Lord Byron with the chambermaid, fall on her like a thunderbolt. Miss Sayers, aware of this, has Harriet in fact long for him to ride roughshod over her, but Lord Peter insists that hers must be a free choice. In these days of sexual gymnastics, it is such a pleasure, at least for the middle-aged, to read of those who know, in Lord Peter's words, that the only sin sex can commit is to be joyless. Those two do, at last, end in each other's arms, and although Miss Sayers was, for many years, to announce new Lord Peter novels, it can now clearly be seen that, after *Gaudy Night,* she was through with him as the hero of fiction.

Busman's Honeymoon was thought of, and produced, as a play: the subsequent novel being, in Miss Sayers's words, "but the limbs and outward flourishes" of the dramatic work. Muriel St. Clare Byrne collaborated with her on the play. (This lady, a formidable scholar herself, has written on the Elizabethan social scene, including a fascinating essay on Shakespeare's representation thereof.) *Busman's Honeymoon* took three weeks of rehearsal, and ran for months, most satisfactory in those days before hits went on forever. It played also in New York with Mildred Natwick featured. A film was made of the play by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, with Robert Montgomery as Peter and Constance Cummings as Harriet. Miss Sayers had nothing to do with the screen version, but one would, nevertheless, give a good deal to see it now.

By the time of the novel of *Busman's Honeymoon,* Miss Sayers and even her most fervent admirers probably felt she had finished forever with Lord Peter and Harriet, however eagerly they may have wished this was not the case. The consummation of the marriage was, God knows, a relief

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to all including the principals, but Harriet, on her wedding night, when she would "render back passion for passion with an eagerness beyond all expectation," nonetheless is bothered by a quotation which she tracks to its source ten days later. Miss Sayers could write love scenes with the best of them, but she too had become busy tracking down another sort of passion: that for God.

Her first religious play was produced at the Canterbury Festival the summer after the opening of *Busman's Honeymoon*. The Right Reverend George K. A. Bell, then dean of Canterbury Cathedral (later Bishop of Chichester), persuaded her to write a "mystery" play—the adjective appears, in the light of Miss Sayers's whole career, to be a sort of divine pun—about William de Sens, the twelfth-century architect of the Cathedral Choir. *The Zeal of Thy House* was the Canterbury Festival Play of 1937.

The following year, at what must now be seen as the parting of the ways, Miss Sayers produced a pamphlet on religion entitled *The Greatest Drama Ever Staged,* in which she wrote of Christianity and the divine Incarnation, "this terrifying drama of which God is the victim and hero. If this," she asked, "is dull, then what, in Heaven's name, is worthy to be called exciting?" Many of her readers considered exciting the news that Lord Peter had become a father, in *Harper's Bazaar,* of all places, but Wimsey's son interested Miss Sayers less than God's. She was, in time, to write four religious plays, one of which, *The Man Born to be King,* ran on the B.B.C. for many months.

But in 1939 she was still promising a new novel about Lord Peter, to be called *Thrones, Dominations.* For some years she had also been promising a biography of Wilkie Collins, having discovered that the only two in the British Museum were written, one by an American, of whom Miss Sayers had no opinion whatever, and one by a German. But Collins, together with Wimsey, made way for God. During the first years of the war "a selection from the war-time letters and papers of the Wimsey family" appeared in the *Spectator.* But Wimsey was now quite frankly sent forth to find funds for provincial tours of Miss Sayers's religious plays. She even allowed him to appear in an advertisement endorsing a tonic, an act she felt required to explain, if not excuse, in a public letter. Lord Peter had had it.

An odd sort of pattern emerges: 1937: the last Wimsey novel; 1947: the announcement, never flatly made until then, that "there will be no more Peter Wimseys"; 1957: Dorothy Sayers is dead. In the last decade of her life she translated Dante, lectured on Christianity and medieval studies, and delivered what can only be called sermons, although they are replete with her characteristic acidity and wit, about the proper way to worship God, and, above all, the importance of work as a vocation. On this subject, her *The Mind of the Maker,* which had appeared earlier, is one of the most insightful books ever written on the creative process, a subject that, oddly enough perhaps, gains from the disciplines imposed on it by her theological analogies. In the year of her death, she published her translation of *The Song of Roland,* her contribution to the "Great Mystery of Life Hereafter" series in the *Sunday Times* (London)—she presented the Christian Doctrine on this subject, other faiths being discussed by, among others, Bertrand Russell and Aly Khan—and *Further Papers on Dante.* Five years after her death her executors published a collection of posthumous essays. To the end, she was annoyed by newspapermen who asked about Wimsey rather than Dante: "I wrote the Peter Wimsey books when I was young and had no money. I made some money, and then I stopped writing novels and began to write what I've always wanted to write." She died leaving an estate of over $100,000, and a handsome yearly income in royalties, the gift of the wealthy Lord Peter Wimsey.

That Lord Peter should be outlasting, in the memories of her readers, her comments on the creations of God is an irony that one feels she might, under the aspect of eternity, learn to understand, even to appreciate. No

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longer merely a detective, rich nobleman, purveyor of wit and charm, he is now cherished also as a survivor from an important moment in our past, a symbol of the last age in which we had produced comedies of manners, those works of art refined by the extraordinary attention their characters pay to conversation and the subtleties of personal relationships; their energies are not expended on social revolution.

"I saw through Lord Peter Wimsey at sixteen," Martin Green announces in an autobiographical essay, thus summing up his resentment of a whole class structure. Edmund Wilson, who has no patience with detective stories, novels of manners, or the English, and likes to say so emphatically in print, prefers the novels of John Dickson Carr to those of Dorothy Sayers, a profoundly revealing preference that should be noted by any student of Mr. Wilson's work. Auden refers to Peter Wimsey as a "priggish superman," who has no motive for being a detective except caprice—but Auden forgets Dorothy Sayers's long disquisition on this very point; he forgets, too, the massive intelligence behind the novels, and remembers only mannerisms. John Strachey declared irritably in 1939: Miss Sayers "has now almost ceased to be a first-rate detective story writer, and has become an exceedingly snobbish popular novelist." As Kathleen Nott suggested in *The Emperor's Clothes,* it was only what one might have expected from the creator of such a creature as Wimsey.

But Lord Peter has refused, in his own words, to make a noise like a hoop and roll away. If Dorothy Sayers was a first-rate medievalist and theologian, there are more of these in the world than first-rate mystery writers, or writers of comedies of manners, or creators of so intelligent, wayward and witty a character as Lord Peter Wimsey. Since she has herself compared the mind of the artist with the mind of God, she would probably not consider sacreligious the observation that she has endowed her own creature with enduring grace.

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George Seferis and the Erosion of Memory

THOMAS DOULIS

Possibly because it was recognized as *the* form for making the overwhelming Hellenic past a functioning part of a fully conscious present, poetry has traditionally been the mode of literary expression of the modern Greeks. The anonymous folk songs and klephtic ballads, found in those parts of the Greek world under Turkish domination, were just as involved with the central concerns of the racial past as was the verse of educated and conscious artists. So overwhelming, in fact, was this preference for poetry among the Greeks that serious critics began to insist that their modern literature would not come of age until the language had become an adequate tool for important works in prose. It is only recently, for example, that the Greek novel, as written by the forceful and influential authors of the 1930 generation, has proved itself capable of being a vehicle for the expression of significant ideas.

The attainment of a language pliant to the needs of serious poetry, however, was not without effort. Dionysios Solomos, the national poet of Greece, who wrote in Italian, had virtually to relearn Greek at the time of the Revolution in 1821 against the Turks.* The historical perspective he and, to a lesser extent, Andreas Kalvos gained by early work in Italian, which had centuries before undergone its linguistic evolution, was possibly the critical factor in their decision to use the demotic, or language of the people, rather than the purist or academic Greek. The titan of Greek poetry, Kostis Palamas, however, had to rewin the language battle half a century later. By the time men like Angelos Sikelianos and Nikos Kazantzakis were heard from, the language problem by and large had been solved, and they were left relatively free to struggle with their personal demons, with which both men were well provided. Constantine Cavafy, off in provincial Alexandria, used a mixed Greek, but one that grew less purist as the years passed.†

George Seferis is now the dean of Greek poets, and his achievements and interests fully entitle him to so august a position. He has done, moreover, what few Greek writers before him have done and that is to cultivate a strong and deep interest in Anglo-American culture. Italy, France and —to a lesser extent, particularly in imaginative literature—Germany had earlier made their impact on Greek life and art, but the culture of the English-speaking peoples had, until recently, been virtually ignored by the Greeks. After the university, those whose careers would be in the arts went to "Europe," by which they meant the Continent, while only those with a business fu-

* Three significant poets—Solomos, Andreas Kalvos and Ugo Foscolo—born within two decades of each other on the same Ionian island, Zante, have left an unmistakable impact on literature: all began their careers as Italian poets. Solomos and Kalvos changed to Greek in mid-career, and Foscolo quickly became one of the most important figures in Italian letters.

✪ THOMAS DOULIS, novelist and poet, teaches at the Philadelphia College of Art. He is now translating the poetry of Nikiphoros Vrettakos.

† The possibility that the current military dictatorship will compel the Greek institutions to revert to the purist language is a sad reminder that virtually no area in Greek life can be removed from political ideology. Judged as a futile gesture, however, it has about it a certain quaint grandeur.

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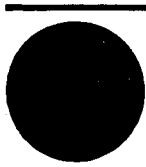

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ture went to England. Whereas British philhellenes from earliest times left impressions of Greek life and voluminous studies, ranging from the monumental to the trivial, on every aspect of Greek culture, the Greeks (excepting Cavafy and Dimitrios Capetanakis) had been indifferent to the Anglo-American tradition. Whether Seferis' redress of this will be more than short-lived will depend on whether it will take hold in the works now being published by younger artists, but his immediate successors—Nikiphoros Vrettakos, Yiannis Ritsos (now in prison) and Odysseus Elytis —all approximately fifteen years Seferis' juniors, show little interest in Anglo-American letters.

Possibly because he is still alive, still creative, and still very much a force in Greek intellectual life, Seferis' voice appears to be as influential as has been heard by that relatively young nation. Modern Greece has not often seen a poet of such stature—Palamas is an exception—who has also been able to defend his aesthetic beliefs in a commanding prose. As essayist and apologist for the new poetry and modern art in general, and as interpreter of the ideas of men like Eliot and Pound, Seferis has performed an inestimable cultural duty to Greece. But his essays are "secondary" works. He is a poet, as can be seen in the *Collected Poems* (Princeton University Press, $10), whose greatness rests not only on the universality of his concerns but on their expression in a spare, precise and elegant diction that has helped to purge Greek poetry of the stereotyped lyricism, the inflated rhetoric, and the easy pessimism that has too often marred it in the recent past. These "qualities" are probably in abundance in every literature during every generation, but modern Greek poetry has been plagued by easy poetasters. That Seferis has published relatively little during a long and productive lifetime can, in this light, be considered an achievement.

As a stylist he has much in common with Cavafy, but there is no language mix in Seferis: his lexicon is flawless. Unlike most Greek poets, who by and large run to the romantic, Seferis cultivates a restraint at odds with the prevailing literature and shares with Cavafy an attitude of pain toward whatever is past, an attitude that led the latter to his major theme, the recapture of the Greek past in a timeless and hellenized Alexandria. Seferis, also an exile from Helladic Greece for most of his life in the diplomatic service of his country, begins with a similar attitude. In *Turning Point* (1931), his first collection, there is a clear preoccupation with "the tragic clepsydra" of time which, as in the title poem, can be kept "dumb" by love, but only briefly.

Most of the poems in *Turning Point* are rather slight, but one—"Erotikos Logos"—the longest and most elaborate of the collection, made Seferis a voice to be reckoned with and motivated Andreas Karandonis, an important critic of Greek letters, to proclaim him a major poet in 1931. That "Erotikos Logos," a virtually untranslatable poem whose theme echoes throughout the Seferis *oeuvre*, does not lose its complex unity, its sense of incantation, and its oracular mystery in the English is a triumph of its translators.

Love is seen as a means of access to the mysteries of existence, "the secrets of the sea," and a major source of self-knowledge, a viewpoint more Latin, and particularly Dantean, than Greek, since eros has usually been considered a rather threatening force in the Greek tradition. But Seferis is a Greek. Although he may feel that erotic love, the "rose of fate," brings with it a profound understanding of the truths ordinarily hidden from men ("The ascent of your cycle livened creation/from your thorn emerged the way's thought"), he is still aware that "the tragic clepsydra" cannot be kept dumb for long. Aware also that time blunts the vividness of man's memory, he knows that the polarities of darkness-light, dream-reality, night-day, fever-clarity, while effective ways of remembering the past, are also ways of distorting and misinterpreting it. Symbols, too, change their significance as time passes. The forest, which at night is "a chilly pillar," a trysting place for coiling serpents, becomes by "the miracle" of daybreak a place that "glitters with birds, shoots, blossoms." Even words

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as handholds on the past lose their form and confuse the memory. Throughout "Erotikos Logos" Seferis uses *rodo* (ρόδο) for rose, a word with more weighted connotations, and at the conclusion, when the poet—with daybreak, clarity, sanity—rescues himself from the dark power of love, he uses *triandafyllo* (τριαντάφυλλο), a much more "domesticated" term for rose.

"Erotikos Logos" is a warning that the erosion of memory gives a specious simplicity to the world, an Apollonian clarity won at the price of the Dionysian truth that the world is complicated, that love's fever and the terror of the forest's darkness are important for us to know. "The secrets of the sea are forgotten on the shores/the darkness of the depths is forgotten on the surf," are logically concluding statements, although they are found almost at the beginning. The poet, before allowing himself to consider the dark powers from which he has rescued himself, has already attained a perspective on his experience. In this light, the triumphant terminal line, "The world is simple," must be considered ironic, since it reveals that the poet has permitted the clarity of the daylight world to repress the authenticity and the power of the fever he has just survived.

The Cistern (1932) is about "a den of secret water" forgotten by men—those "faces that go"—and a symbol that can provide them with a hope of permanence. But although they hope to "throw off the aged sickness" as the snake sheds the skin that constricts it, men find it impossible to believe in immortality. As they die, even their gods die, reflecting men's weaknesses and responding to their hopes. The gradual loss of memory is man's great weakness, however, since the imagery of the snake's shed skin, "yellow in the green clover," never totally convinces him of the immortality for which he so clearly yearns. "Night does not believe in dawn" is a statement more than merely reminiscent of "the secrets of the sea are forgotten on the shores"; it is a continuation of the same thought. Hidden in the midst of men, the secret cistern "teaches silence" and presumably certitude in "the flaming city" above it, a city that burns with the candles of affirmation to an annually dying god.

Up to this point everything that Seferis has published has been traditional in form. The Greek language, however, is not particularly rich in rhymes, and the jingling versifiers of the past managed to exhaust every available pair. In his previous poems, Seferis acquitted himself handsomely in searching for new rhymes, but in a few he found himself struggling against the limitations of his language and his artist's conscience. This was a warning to him: he has used rhyme again in his career but never as a total device in a major poem.

Mythistorema (1935), since it appeared to be an abrupt break with Seferis' previous work, puzzled most Greek critics. Throughout the twenty-four poems (a parallel to the books of the Homeric epics) that make up this work, the poet has not only abandoned rhyme but seems to use a number of unidentified voices that address a constantly changing audience in statements that are weighted with a kind of gnomic significance and echo like voices in caves or down wells. Yet the diction as before is masterful, classic in the most exalted sense of the word, and *Mythistorema* finally becomes for the serious reader on first study a kind of mosaic of great beauty discovered by chance, which cannot be seen in the totality its designer had envisioned for it. Certain areas have been preserved unscathed by time and seem to lead to some unified significance, but in scattered spots, other tesserae, crucial to the understanding of the total work, have been dislodged by peasants' plows or chariot wheels that have passed overhead. *Mythistorema,* consequently, seems to be a beautiful but fragmentary work.

Yet, despite the impenetrability of some of the poems, *Mythistorema* excites and rewards the reader with a world dense with images of startling precision and complexity whose meanings reverberate throughout the "three or six thousand" years of Greek history. The poem is a chronicle—loosely conceived—of the never completed journey of men, reminiscent of both the Argonauts and Odysseus' crew, through a bonebare

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Aegean landscape in a contemporaneous present. Their mission "to rediscover the first seed so that the ancient drama could begin again" seems to have ended in failure, but "the ancient drama" nevertheless continually recurs, much as even the terrain appears to repeat itself at ever-ascending levels.

> Three rocks, a few burnt pines, a solitary
> chapel and farther above
> the same landscape repeated starts again:
> three rocks in the shape of a gate-way,
> rusted, a few burnt pines, black and yellow,
> and a square hut buried in whitewash;
> and still farther above, many times over,
> the same landscape recurs level after level
> to the horizon, to the twilight sky.

Certainly the travelers question the fate that condemns them to wander "on the decks of decayed ships/. . . committed to nonexistent pilgrimages unwillingly/murmuring broken thoughts from foreign languages," yet other voices, apparently condemned to exile or inactivity, mourn an equal loneliness.

> When we go down
> to the harbors on Sunday to breathe
> we see, lit in the sunset,
> the broken planks from voyages that never ended,
> bodies that no longer know how to love.

Two figures on the long journey of *Mythistorema* achieve a significance beyond that of the others: the famed Odysseus and Elpenor, who has had to wait for Seferis to see in him a universality other ages either ignored or refused to credit. The former, keeping before him constantly his duties toward the gods and men, eventually reached his Ithaca in the Homeric epic, while the "sensual Elpenor" died ignobly and could not be properly buried.

Eventually it becomes obvious that *Mythistorema* is reenacted and recounted by the voices of the dead among the asphodels in Hades who seem to believe that rescue from the wheel of time will come when the past is made present by memory:

> wandering among broken stones, three or six thousand years
> searching in collapsed houses that might have been our homes
> trying to remember dates and heroic deeds:
> will we be able?

Memory is the only weapon man has to help him rewin the total clarity he needs to save himself, to make himself whole. Yet even the bare Greek earth conspires against him, for nothing seems to last: statues are fragmented, millions of docile, strong oarsmen die, men whom "no one remembers," and heroes whose great but half-forgotten deeds tease us on the edge of awareness perish also. If, as in *Gymnopaidia* (1936), even the islands rise and sink in the sea, how important is man and his anguish?

> Write if you can on your last shell
> the day the name the place
> and fling it into the sea so that it sinks.

The struggle to recapture the past and merge the fragments, seen as a heroic task, a virtual duty to the race, is a major theme in Seferis' work, informing later poems as widely spaced in time of composition as "The King of Asine" (1940), the magnificent "Thrush" (1947), undoubtedly his masterpiece, and even "Engomi" (1955).

Elpenor, a figure in much of Seferis' work, fulfills an important role in "Thrush." In a furtive conversation with Circe, who does not share with him the anguish of time, Elpenor speaks about the betrayal of memory, about fragmented statues, "bodies once alive," about clothes now tattered by time, upon which "all that remains is the perfume of the absence/of a young form." But at this point, and despite Circe's interruptions, Elpenor comes upon a personal truth.

> Really, those statues are not
> the fragments. You yourself are the relic;
> they haunt you with a strange virginity
> at home, at the office, at receptions for the celebrated,
> in the unconfessed terror of sleep;
> they speak of things you wish didn't exist
> or would exist years after your death,
> and that's difficult because . . .
> . . . because the statues are no longer fragments. We are. The statues bend slightly.

The salvation from time is "light, angelic

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and black," the light of truth that one sees when like Oedipus, "the old suppliant," he is blinded. Memory will cease being a necessity for man when time ceases, when like the tired wanderer he finds a "house near the sea" that "they" cannot take from him, a final Ithaca where he can find "serenity." No longer polarized as in "Erotikos Logos," the light of truth contains both halves of man's nature, both Apollo and Dionysus. Man will then be complete, not fragmented as he is now because of time's injustice. The "angelic and black" light will be the light of timelessness when all who have "never loved will love." The image in which Seferis describes the end of time is surely one of the greatest in his *oeuvre:*

> and you find yourself
> in a large house with many windows open
> running from room to room, not knowing
> from where to look out first,
> because the pine-trees will vanish, and the
> mirrored mountains, and the chirping
> of birds
> the sea will drain dry, shattered glass, from
> north and south
> your eyes will empty of the light of day—
> how suddenly and all together the cicadas
> stop.

Logbook III (1955) represents Seferis' most recent work. Although there are no individual poems as powerful as the best of his past, still the collection is by far his most unified and, I feel, his most interesting. To understand the spirit that informs this collection is to pursue a quest with Seferis that is related to the deepest sources of his artistry: a reverence for the Greek tradition, both folk and high; a quiet patriotism, untainted by jingoism and shallow nationalism; and a psychic equilibrium that is evident in the calmness, the breadth and the honesty of his work.

The sixteen poems of *Logbook III* are the summation of his life, for in Cyprus of the early fifties he found a society on the periphery of the Greek world that, as in "Peddler from Sidon," is a totality of the almost limitless Cypriot past. Yet, within this jumble of history, Cyprus has maintained its hellenism from archaic times, a "Greekness" that for all its familiarity has a strangeness that excites him.

> I sleep and my heart stays awake;
> it gazes at the stars, the sky, and the helm,
> and at how the water blossoms on the
> rudder.

Logbook III is both a confrontation with a Hellenic society just surfacing into racial consciousness, whose cultural inheritance is still fresh and alive while that of the other Greek areas is a fast fading memory, and an embittering experience for Seferis, the Anglophile, who sees the ideals of his "friends of the other war" being betrayed. It is a fusion of these themes—the vast and complicated Greek past and the then-current political expedience—that creates the longer works of the collection, poems like "Salamis in Cyprus," "The Demon of Fornication," "In the Kyrenia District" and "Helen." Certainly darkness, the somber realization of human inconstancy and duplicity was never ignored previously in Seferis' work, but time's "tragic clepsydra" had been the enemy of man's hopes for permanence. Now, it is man and his capacity for deluding himself. The Greeks at Troy struggled in vain. The Helen they fought for, "a butterfly's flicker, a swan's down/an empty tunic. . ." was in Egypt all the time.

The apocalyptic vision of time's stop and the consequent end of memory's significance surface in *Logbook III* as a theme worthy of further study in the work of George Seferis. This is not new to him. As a theme it was present in *Turning Point* (especially in "Fog" and "The Mood of a Day") and apparent in works as widely spaced as *Mythistorema, Poems Given, Logbook I,* and the final segment of "Thrush." In *Logbook III,* however, the surreal vision of time's stop becomes inescapable in "Memory I," "Memory II" and "Engomi," the last a murky but fascinating poem. In "Engomi" archeologists and workers dig out an ancient city and the poet experiences a world that stops being "ours" briefly; as a statue of Aphrodite, whose "belly now shone like the moon" is unearthed, everything freezes into immobility. More than a decade after

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his trip to Cyprus, the interest in the surreal vision has impelled Seferis to translate *The Apocalypse of Saint John* (1966) into demotic Greek.

We have thus a poet who, without the careful and, at times, inspired Keeley-Sherrard translation, would be virtually unfathomable in all but his most obvious poems. He is a difficult poet in a tradition that is accepted as the legacy of the West, yet—because we have interpreted it pretty much for ourselves—is probably in essence more foreign to us than we might suppose. The Greek language, as any one who is familiar with Classical Greek could see for himself by studying the original text *en face,* has gone through a considerable evolution. But the voice Seferis uses, although it is uniquely Greek, is one that speaks to men regardless of their knowledge of or loyalties to the Greek tradition. He speaks of fragmented men who yearn for completion, of wanderers who long for the home that constantly recedes into the future, and of beings mired in the "injustice of time" who search for timelessness.

Medicine Today: Ferment or Just Gas?

THE COMING REVOLUTION IN MEDICINE. *By David D. Rutstein. M.I.T. Press. $4.95.*
FERMENT IN MEDICINE. *By Richard M. Magraw. Saunders. $6.50.*

Reviewed by MICHAEL J. HALBERSTAM

Doctor Rutstein, who is chairman of the department of preventive medicine at Harvard University, is too wise to believe in a coming revolution in medicine. The phrase nowhere appears in the text of the book and nowhere is it implied. What Dr. Rutstein *has* done is to outline some trends, problems and paradoxes in modern American medicine. After doing this, he then "projected lines along which progress may be made and suggested the kinds of studies that could yield a better definition of future trends." Even allowing for academic prose, this is not the stuff of which revolutions are made.

The problems and paradoxes to which Dr. Rutstein addresses himself will not be new to those who have followed the state of American medicine within the past five years. Our poor showing in national infant mortality rates, the physician shortage, the disappearance of the general practitioner, the increasing cost of care—all these and others are briefly sketched and analyzed. It is in the analysis of these problems and his suggestions for the future that Dr. Rutstein displays a commendable dislike for the obvious.

Thus, in considering figures on comparative mortality rates, Dr. Rutstein does not merely note that the United States ranks sixteenth among nations and denounce American medicine as a failure. He goes on to emphasize that even among middle-aged males we have a marked excess of deaths compared to Sweden and Wales, and "cirrhosis of the liver and hypertension are five to ten times higher in the United States than in Sweden." Similarly, in his analysis of infant mortality rates, he achieves an advanced degree of sophistication by stressing that our state with the best rate (Utah) just manages to equal the Swedish province with the worst. It is not only among the poor and the black that we fail ourselves.

Dr. Rutstein rightly condemns depersonalization of medicine. He is properly skeptical of the computer's replacing the physician as the essential element in the diagnosis and treatment of illness. He is right in denouncing the rigidity of medical school curricula, the shabbiness of most nursing homes, the falsely high expectations of a public that has been oversold on what modern medicine can do.

And yet with all these insights there is something lacking in this book, something perhaps symbolized by the author's uncompromisingly barren and humorless style, his lack of quotation or citation of

✪ MICHAEL J. HALBERSTAM, a graduate of Boston University Medical School, practices internal medicine in Washington, D. C. Dr. Halberstam is a consultant to BioDynamics, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and has written articles on medical care and other subjects for various national magazines.

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authors or authorities outside the medical field. Dr. Rutstein gropes for some of the basic paradoxes involved in medical care, but he does not quite touch them.

For example, while not specifically approving the practice, Dr. Rutstein notes blandly that "euthanasia by an act of omission is usually tolerated. Chronically ill, deteriorating patients with a clearly diagnosed, painful fatal illness are often kept comfortable and quiet with large doses of analgesics and sedatives." Such "treatment," he goes on to add, makes a fatal pneumonia more probable. This attitude does tend to exist, but so long as it does, and so long as the issue is not confronted directly, we can hardly get very indignant, as Dr. Rutstein does, about the state of the nation's nursing homes. If, for noble moral reasons or for frankly economic motives ("After all, he has no family and he's just a drain on our resources"), we accept euthanasia by acts of omission, we have little cause to feel indignant because patients in some nursing homes have not been seen by a physician for over a year. Improving our nursing-home care, which does need to be done, will also mean changing or examining more fully our ideas about the value of human life. The old-fashioned belief that all life is sacred, even deteriorating, painful or vegetative life, is probably what makes nursing care in some Catholic homes for incurables so superior. It is hard to take a liberal, enlightened, and somewhat cost-oriented staff, both nursing and physician, and give it this same attitude. If we truly want to improve the care of the elderly or chronically ill, we might listen more to the theologian and less to the systems analyst or cost accountant.

One of the more difficult paradoxes in the provision of adequate medical care for America lies in the fact that we must expand, extend and modernize our system of care, and at the same time retain the best elements of personal service. Dr. Rutstein is lucid and imaginative in his suggestions for bringing hospitals into greater cooperation. The government's Comprehensive Health Planning legislation already encourages communities to plan as communities, not as a series of separate hospital boards, benevolent associations, or neighborhood tongs. What is not stressed in the book is the way the consumer and the physician have acted to modify the practice of medicine in a way that, although completely unplanned, has served to adapt the uses of the past to the needs of the present. No one has taken notice, for example, of the increasing trend among suburban families to have two sets of physicians—a pediatrician and gynecologist and/or a general practitioner for mother and children in the suburbs where they live, and an internist downtown for father where he works. There is no place in this scheme for the "family physician" who sees mother, father and children, and is in general charge of their health. This is as it should be, for despite Dr. Rutstein's fondness for some kind of primary physician who treats and knows the whole family, the whole family doesn't live here any more. If not yet a suburban nation, we are becoming a commuting nation, commuting not only from upper-class suburbs to Wall Street, but from small towns like Winsted to Hartford, from smaller towns like Colebrook to Winsted, and from farms into Colebrook. Men who work in Wichita's airplane factories may live fifty or seventy miles away. It's unreasonable to talk about "family doctors" when the head of the family is home only between seven p.m. and seven a.m. The people have learned this, if the planners haven't. Of course, in some areas and for some people the family doctor will continue to exist, but the fragmentation of the family remains a fact that medicine must adjust to.

Similarly, among physicians the trend is to locate in a "medical building" close to—sometimes even within—a community hospital. This trend originally built upon, but has now greatly solidified, the power of the hospital in community medical practice. It is the hospitals that will increasingly set standards of ethics and practice in the future, rather than local medical societies or the national specialty groups.

Dr. Rutstein discusses the need for people and machines to assist the physician.

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He realizes, as not all writers have, that the medical profession has not always opposed, but in fact has itself developed, some of these "assisting professions." In a nation that is growing increasingly sophisticated, educated and status-conscious, it may be harder to get patients and licensing boards to accept the idea of a nurse-midwife than to have such assistance welcomed by the medical profession. Certainly a lot today that is done by the physician could be done as well by someone with less training. If, as physicians have been urged to do by medical planners, I considered everything I did in my work each day and thought about which parts could be done as well by a nonphysician specifically and solely trained for that task, I would have no difficulty in selecting those aspects. Certainly one does not need fifteen years of post-college training to sympathize with a woman whose husband drinks too much and who thinks her heart is going bad. Certainly someone with a grade-school education could be taught to take her blood pressure. Certainly a high-school graduate or corpsman could be taught to examine her skin, listen to her heart, and tap her Achilles tendon. Certainly a technician could be taught to draw her blood and take an electrocardiogram. Certainly a computer can read the electrocardiogram, do the blood tests, and underline the abnormal laboratory values. Certainly a pleasant social worker with an M.S. could explain to the patient that her heart is all right, that what is really the matter with her is her concern about her husband's drinking, and so her own future. Certainly another social worker could lead her to a psychologist and her husband to A.A.

There is, in fact, not a single aspect of my work that couldn't be done as well, and quite possibly better, by someone trained just for that aspect. The problem remains that in this country at this time only the physician is considered able and trained to put the whole series of steps together. Auxiliary personnel are needed and necessary to do tasks that physicians no longer need or want to do, but it is a delusion that the use of such workers will significantly affect the doctor shortage. By freeing the doctor for more truly professional service, they will increase the demand for that kind of service.

Dr. Rutstein is not unaware of this dilemma, but like many hospital-based physicians he tends to think of medical care *primarily* as a life-saving or extending task. Although this is part of medicine, it is not all of it, or even the largest part. The author observes that the state (South Dakota) with the greatest physician shortage also has the longest life expectancy for white males, but he devotes barely a sentence to this delightful paradox (which is not unique and is central to any kind of planning for health resources) before going on to his next topics (health in the ghetto and improvement of physician efficiency). This perhaps illustrates the book's central weakness. Dr. Rutstein is perceptive and imaginative, but when one deals with topics as diverse as the ethics of artificial organ transplantation, the ideal medical school curriculum, the proper organization of hospitals, the duties of the modern nurse, and the place of osteopaths in health care, all in one hundred and forty-nine pages of nicely spaced type, it is hard not to be superficial and, at times, misleading. The newcomer to the field of medical education or planning will get from this book a brief, varied account of some problems and solutions, but the full-time worker in either area will only regret that Dr. Rutstein did not spend more time on fewer subjects.

Dr. Richard Magraw writes in his foreword that *Ferment in Medicine* grew out of his teaching of comprehensive medicine to senior medical students at the University of Minnesota. I would suspect that it grew even more out of a varied medical career —family practice in Two Harbors, Minnesota, medical service in Korea, certification in both internal medicine and psychiatry—and a wide-ranging, undogmatic intelligence. In a book that is so aptly documented with references from non-medical writers, foreign medical experts, and unexpected American medical sources as to become a source book in its own, Dr.

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Magraw brings out subtleties and nuances that almost all "experts" on medical economics and organization have missed. Thus, as a psychiatrist he devotes five chapters to the doctor-patient relationship, while as a historian he recognizes the contempt that the A.M.A. eventually brought to that term. He talks about the real work of the physician, and reminds us that this work "often involves disagreeable endeavor with an unlovely or complaining person." His awareness that medicine is not all dramatic cures and heart transplants gives him some —not complete—sympathy with the concept of fee-for-service as well as with the desire of some physicians to escape from continuing, sometimes annoying, patient supervision through superspecialization, institutional or group medicine. He does not ignore, however, the emotional satisfaction that some physicians derive from fostering dependency among their patients. He recognizes the growing importance of hospitals in setting standards for medical practice, and he worries whether institutions can or will provide the kind of comprehensive, *personal* care that he considers vital. With characteristic subtlety he emphasizes the diversity in American medical practice, the regional differences in practice, the effects of Blue Cross programs on the way medical students and physicians learn to think about illness.

I have some minor quarrels with Dr. Magraw—I don't think he stresses sufficiently the way changing population patterns will affect medical practice, I *don't* think there is a "crisis" in American medicine (there was supposed to have been a crisis in 1960 and I couldn't find that one either —although, with today's rhetoric, you may have to label something a crisis for others to consider it a problem), and I think he understates the extent to which internists now provide and will increasingly provide adult comprehensive personal medical care. I think he overstates the speed and uniqueness of certain trends—my 1929 Encyclopædia Britannica speaks of the "rapidly increasing tendency to regard [the hospital] as a community health center from which radiate all health activities."

But these are quibbles. What Dr. Magraw has done is to produce an excellently documented account of the current state of American medicine, complete with psychoanalytic insight into physicians, administrators and patients. Despite the author's experience as a professor in two medical disciplines at the University of Minnesota, and despite his current position as an Assistant Director of the Public Health Service's Bureau of Health Services, I suspect that the excellence of the book is mainly attributable to the good citizens of Two Harbors, Minnesota. For, just as we would be skeptical of a massive book about Vietnam by a professor of Far Eastern Studies who had never been there, so we might be somewhat leary of books about medicine by those who have never done the basic work of direct, personal patient care. *Ferment in Medicine* is a book by a man who has been there.

A Very Civilized Man

ONE MAN'S EDUCATION. *By Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis. Knopf. $10.*

Reviewed by AUGUST HECKSCHER

No one can have known Yale over the past three or four decades without knowing "Lefty" Lewis, his slightly stooped figure carrying the aura of the eighteenth century, and yet something in his eye and smile suggesting that he was very much at home in the world as it is. This book might have been merely the biography of a Yale man who had given his life and much of his wealth to the university he loves. It is that; a blue haze lies upon its pages. And yet somehow it contrives in the end to be more. It suggests how a man may be educated long after formal education is through; it even suggests how a man of the modern world may grow wise. Of course, for bibliophiles, collectors, students of literature and particularly for the growing band of Walpolians, these pages carry a very special interest.

Mr. Lewis evokes in his earlier chapters

AUGUST HECKSCHER is Commissioner of Recreation and Cultural Affairs for New York City.

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the vanished world of California of the early years of this century: something of its newness and rawness, overlaid by the natural beauties and the cultural aspirations that were to make San Francisco the prize among contemporary American cities. He was a hesitant, sensitive boy, dominated by a mother whose power over him he was to discern slowly and from which he was to liberate himself only after long and painful struggles. Early he formed the habit of retreating into sickness; the attention one got was delightful—the only trouble, he observes, is that sickness can be bothersome and difficult to escape from. Afterwards, with self-knowledge and courage, he was to recognize his recurrent illnesses for what they were and was to attack the cause with rational optimism.

First Thacher School and then Yale were to bring him out of himself, away from his mother's spell and into the circle of friendships that was to mean so much to him as the years went by. Lefty Lewis was not, however, an immediate success—either in his own eyes or those of the world. He was never sure what he wanted to do; he had enough money so that he was under no pressure to make up his mind, and when he did begin to ask himself seriously what his aim should be, he found no immediate answer. A desire to write was natural in the circumstances; but he woke up after the publication of his first novel to find himself still far from famous.

The collector's instinct must be real and identifiable, something akin to both hunger and love. In any case it took Mr. Lewis out of the doldrums and led him into a series of pleasant adventures in this country and abroad—as well as into the kind of trap (baited by a certain Mr. X) that awaits the innocent and unwary. And then came the discovery of Horace Walpole. It was characteristic of Mr. Lewis that he had to reassure himself about the good moral character of Walpole before he decided to collect him seriously. It was as well he did so, for the identification between Walpole and his great collector became so intimate that Mr. Lewis suffered one of his illnesses, almost turned away from his passion, and then wisely learned that a certain objectivity in regard to his hero, and a certain distance from him, were advisable.

The lines of his life were becoming set. Mr. Lewis married the beloved Annie Burr Auchincloss; in Farmington an American eighteenth-century house began to take on the characteristics of a great library, a repository of the works and memorabilia of Walpole and indeed of the eighteenth century as a whole. I remember in 1940, as a young teacher at Yale, dining with the Lewises in those wonderfully picturesque and comfortable surroundings—the soft light, the crowding books, the conversation about things long ago. And then afterwards he and I motored over to Hartford, in the glare and noise of the contemporary world, to speak in a stark broadcasting studio on behalf of aid to the allies. All appearances notwithstanding, Mr. Lewis was never quite lost in the eighteenth century. The contrasts of that evening have remained in my mind as indicative of what can be best and most civilized in life.

Along with the growth of his own library, the Yale library came to be a burning preoccupation of Mr. Lewis. The time was to come when he would face seriously the question of whether he would accept appointment as its Librarian; he thought he would—and then wisely, from his point of view, turned it down, to pursue the freer life of a dedicated dilettante, and to give himself uninterruptedly to the monumental edition of Horace Walpole's letters. Yet service to Yale was to be a major part of his life. The day he was asked to be a trustee he recalls as a decisive moment in his career. I was not surprised some years later when I asked an insider who was the most influential member of the Board. The answer was given unhesitatingly: Lefty Lewis.

Once again (as in that evening at the start of the war) Mr. Lewis was able to combine a concern for the literary, traditional side of Yale with a readiness to act at the frontiers. The best of modern architecture at Yale had his enthusiastic support. Promotion of the sciences was as natural to him as promotion of the museums and art

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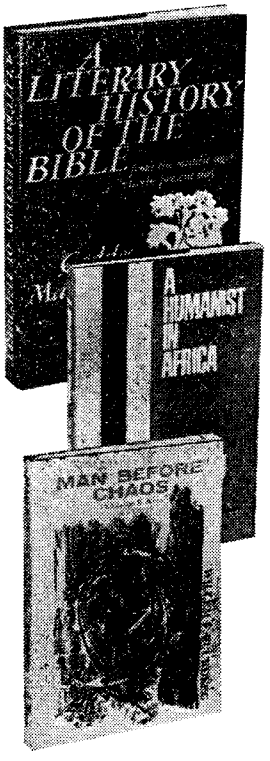

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collections. Mr. Lewis, indeed, gave to the role of Trustee a fresh significance. His own writings on the trustee's duties are small classics.

There are things in the book that may trouble the reader. I do not feel, for example, that the use of the third person throughout the narrative quite comes off. There are names that seem to be dropped unnecessarily and small occasions that are scarcely of general interest. But the whole makes sense when one recalls that the book, and the life it records, are patterned on the eighteenth century. The friendships, the travels, the personal incidents are of the stuff from which the memoirs of that age were wrought. Best of all, the author writes like an eighteenth-century man in his calm remembrance of small disappointments—a book that sold only a hundred and thirty copies or a series of lectures for which no students inscribed—or of so deep a personal tragedy as the death of his wife. He meets his fate with composure, taking the good with the bad, the spirit nourished on the great traditions of literature and philosophy.

In the end it is indeed an educated man, a very civilized man, who, as the author puts it, "contemplates without longing or dread the time when his mortal remains will lie . . . above the lovely river flowing in its circuitous way to the sea." Farmington, and Yale in Farmington, will never be far from Mr. Lewis.

Writers and Politics

THE REACTIONARIES: A Study of the Anti-Democratic Intelligentsia. *By John Harrison. Introduction by William Empson. Schocken. $6.*

Reviewed by GEOFFREY WOLFF

Robert Lowell, you will recall, publicly refused to lend his presence to a White House culture fiesta two years ago because of his extreme distaste for American for-

GEOFFREY WOLFF, book editor of the Washington *Post*, lectures in literature at the Maryland Institute College of Art in Baltimore.

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eign policy. His action was generally condemned by the press as tasteless, childish and irrelevant. An editorial in the Washington *Post* (June 5, 1965) was typical: ". . . As a citizen, Mr. Lowell has every right to express himself on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic in the most vehement terms. But what does this have to do with the enjoyment of poetry or the arts?" The question is less frivolous than it seems: perhaps imaginative literature has nothing to say to political policy in the twentieth century; perhaps general indifference to serious literature has liberated writers from traditional public responsibilities.

The issue has been raised again with the recent publication of *Authors Take Sides on Vietnam*, a compendium of brief responses by intellectuals throughout the world to this war in the manner of a similar volume on the Spanish Civil War thirty years ago. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., reviewing the result, felt obliged to ask: "Should writers express opinions on issues of public policy" and provided this sensible reply to his rhetorical question: ". . . The value of an opinion is independent of its origin . . . Little is sillier than the argument that people known for one thing should be debarred from having views on anything else."

W. H. Auden, however, found it anything but silly to debar poets from a judgment of the Vietnam war: "Why writers should be canvassed for their opinion on controversial political issues, I cannot imagine. Their views have no more authority than those of any reasonably well-educated citizen. Indeed, when read in bulk, the statements made by writers, including the greatest, would seem to indicate that literary talent and political common sense are rarely found together."

Auden is both wrong and right. Great poetry possesses a grander potential for public authority than does the marshmallow rhetoric, all swamp gas and bluster, that issues from a White House press conference. He is right, however, that "literary talent and political common sense are rarely found together." John Harrison's

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The Reactionaries, a sometimes devastating prosecution brief drawn up against Yeats, Wyndham Lewis, Pound, Eliot and D. H. Lawrence, demonstrates how terribly right he is. These writers, the author shows, "rejected the humanist tradition in literature and society, the democratic, humanitarian tradition. The same principles governed their social criticism as their literary criticism, and led them to support the fascist cause, either directly, as Pound and Lewis did, or indirectly, as Yeats and Eliot did."

These in England were not alone in their determined wrong-mindedness. In 1935 Wallace Stevens could write to Ronald Lane Latimer, one of his publishers, that "the Italians have as much right to take Ethiopia from the coons as the coons had to take it from the boa-constrictors." The new critics between the wars, espousing the dead agrarian values of a Southern culture that probably never was, raged against the ethical and aesthetic diffuseness of Northern liberalism. For these rigid, proud poets and analysts, literature became not only a means by which to measure and conduct human affairs; it became the sole means. What Alfred Kazin has called the "search for some primary and inclusive article of faith" among the Southern intellectuals led to a severe reaction against the humanist ideal of progress. Allen Tate could write with sadness of the old verities "crushed by the French Revolution" and declare, proudly, that only in the South did there remain a society that believed in a "Code of Honor."

A more serious—or less silly—symptom of the reactionary mind in this country before (and often during) World War II was that it retreated before what it hated, and with a sneer left questions of public life and national direction unattended. Thus John Crowe Ransom, writing about the modern poetry of detachment: "The modern poet has disclaimed social responsibility in order to secure . . . pure esthetic effect. He cares nothing, professionally, about morals, or God, or native land. He has performed a work of dissociation and purified his art." Such indifference to the hurly-burly of conscience was stretched to a barely tolerable exquisiteness; it expressed brittle disillusion.

Harrison's subjects are of a different order. All except Lawrence wanted the world remade to high culture's measure and Lawrence wanted to remake it to Lawrence's measure. Poets then, as poets now, felt neglected and isolated from the mass of men and from popular taste; they would, then, have done with all that hedged them. "Quite simply," said Pound, "I want a new civilization." Belief in the superiority of the artist had its dark, destructive side, as Harrison rightly notes: "Contempt for the taste and judgment of the public can easily become contempt for the public itself." Henry James equated democracy with formlessness in the arts; Harrison's reactionaries were more direct, more brutal.

For Yeats practical politics was "the dirty piece of orange peel in the corner of the stairs as one climbs to some newspaper office." (The newspaper was a target for rabid reactionary animosity for all these men—as indeed it still is for Lawrence's explainer, F. R. Leavis.) Wyndham Lewis spoke of the "botched masses," of the "monstrous baby called 'the Public.'" Pound wrote of the "general indefinite wobble" and Lawrence of the "cowardly people." Against the aimlessness of democracy they would set formality in art, order in culture, traditional values in education and authoritarianism in politics.

Art was to be the means and exclusive end of this transformation. Harrison summarizes their views: "Art does not exist for man, man exists for art." Pound's declarations began to have a fascist edge long before he left for Italy and his notorious wartime broadcasts: "The intelligence of the nation is more important than the comfort or life of any one individual, or the bodily life of a whole generation." To effect the primacy of art and intelligence, "the general indefinite wobble" must be forcibly straightened. The result was a frenzied lurch to the right.

Yeats wrote that he looked forward to "inequality made law." For Wyndham

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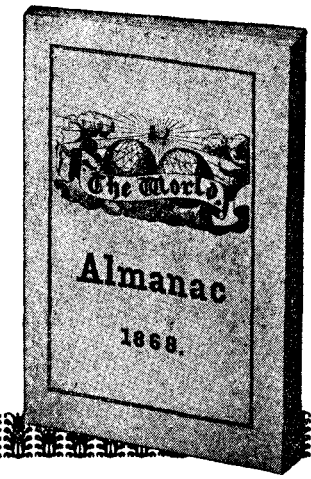

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Lewis the program was the same: "For the sake of the ruled—that is my argument—the ruler should be forced to rule by force, ostensibly, responsibly, as does the soviet or fascist government." As Lawrence understood the problem, "it is the business of very few to understand and for the mass, it is their business to believe and not to bother, but to be honourable and humanly to fulfill their human responsibilities. To give active obedience to their leaders and to possess their own souls in natural pride."

For these men political ideology began typically as an aesthetic program and their confusions often stem from that aesthetic source. Harrison properly locates the cultural analogue for rigid government in T. E. Hulme's brand of neoclassicism, which Eliot lauded as the best of twentieth-century thought: "the antipodes of the eclectic, tolerant, democratic mind of the nineteenth century." Austerity was the desired end: a hard, precise, chiseled masculine art that denied emotion and mysticism. Byzantine mosaics, Egyptian and Indian art and West African sculpture were in vogue. In poetry the unit became the exact image that unfolded apprehensions larger than itself. In politics the unit was to be the leader-hero, selected to represent the intelligence of the race.

The problem here, and it is one that Harrison largely ignores, is that heroes in fascist states have their sources in the romantic ideals the neoclassicists so abjured. Hitler's mind and style were nothing if not romantic: bedded in the stimulation of tumultuous musicality, strident, irrational and raw. Wyndham Lewis recognized this paradox between supposed and achieved ends and rationalized it away with an oblique reference to what Nietzsche called "dynamic classicism."

The truth, of course, is that fascist inclinations are impossible to rationalize. The artist, irrelevant to the masses, uses his freedom to indulge the most primitive and deeply dangerous sacrificial acts his imagination can conjure. Claude Bernard's dictum, "art is I; science is we," applies with particular force to the extreme ad-

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vocates of reaction. The figure of the supreme hero is a surrogate for the supreme and lonely poet whose isolation is translated into triumph and vengeance. The end of conventional political life is cohesiveness, yet Pound recognized its opposite in imaginative life: "There is no union in intellect, when we think we diverge, we explore, we go away." Under the rule of art, policy would respond to disunion, exploration and divergence, hardly the stable state to which the reactionaries pretended to aspire.

What we remember, then, are the madnesses rather than the programs. We remember the letting go, the invitation to catastrophe implicit in Yeats's line from "The Leaders of the Crowd": "So the crowd come they care not what may come." We remember the nihilism of Lawrence's reveries of bloodletting: "Sometimes I wish I could let go and be really wicked—kill and murder—but kill chiefly. I do want to kill. But I want to select whom I shall kill." We remember the poison of Pound's anti-Semitism: "Don't start a pogrom. That is, not an old style killing of small Jews. That system is no good whatever. Of course, if some man had a stroke of genius, and could start a pogrom up at the top . . . there might be something to say for it. But, on the whole, legal measures are preferable."

Harrison's book is a valuable anthology of the worst that has been said and thought by the greatest imaginative writers of our century. But it is badly flawed by its failure to live within limits Harrison himself establishes in his preface when he declares he is uninterested in whether A was a fascist and B was not. The word fascist, more freighted with sinister resonance than perhaps any in our vocabulary, is too close to Harrison's tongue. Thus he can lump Eliot with Pound, although the former's reaction was a function of a belief in traditional social structures rather than pure authoritarianism. He can yoke Yeats, who believed in aristocracy, with Lewis, who believed in Hitler. In such cases the question of fairness becomes almost the supreme question.

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Less important, Harrison often allows his subjects' views to overcome his coolness and back him into the tautological trap of arguing the obvious against the insane, as when he assures us that artistic freedom did not flourish in Nazi Germany. *The Reactionaries* also suffers from undue repetitiveness and a certain stiffness, but its value as a corrective to the privileged spirituality of artistic genius is unassailable. It closes on a puzzled note that is the heart of the matter: "It is difficult to see why so many writers have thought that stability, whether social, political, moral, or philosophical, is a prerequisite of artistic creation."

The answer may lie with Robert Frost's definition of the poem as "a momentary stay against confusion." After the tug of various possibilities has been resolved for an instant in the clarity of the stanza or single line, the relief must be monumental. If only the world could be made to scan like a sonnet—if the world could be made to scan more sonnets—the poet might then legislate a permanent stay against confusion.

Gate to the *Avant-Garde*

A YEAR FROM MONDAY. *By John Cage. Wesleyan University Press. $7.92.*

Reviewed by MICHAEL KIRBY

There is no question that John Cage is one of the key figures in contemporary art. This fact might make Cage's latest collection of articles and lectures worth reading, but it would not necessarily make it an important book. Talking with my friends who are artists, I often have the rather romantic idea that everything they say somehow explains their work; I am less interested in their writing. In writing it is too easy to hide, merely to tell the reader what you would like him to think. Theory need not match practice in art, and many artists contradict themselves when they write about their work. None of this is true of Cage, however. Although I have only met him once or twice, all evidence points to what I am tempted to call a *unique* congruency between his everyday life, on one hand, and his public presentations of music, lectures and writings, on the other. He seems without contradictions. There is nothing that must be interpreted. Surface manner may change with the situation, of course, but the same fundamental "rules" govern all of his life, which happens to include his art. This ontological consistency—"honesty" seems too limited a word because it indicates only moral choice—is one of the things that makes *A Year From Monday* an important book. Given Cage's position as innovator, intellectual and guru, his collection becomes a lucid example of the kind of thought that has had great influence on the *avant-garde*. Although we may see this influence, as Cage himself seems to, as happening in the past, it is also part of a process that is still continuing and that the present volume will undoubtedly strengthen. "Many doors are now open . . . Once through, looking back, no wall or doors are seen." Depending on the reader's point of view, this book is about how doors were opened in the past, how they are opening now, or, about those that have not yet opened.

Cage is an inveterate innovator. He cannot let things be as they usually are or always have been. In this case he cannot merely present traditional printed prose. He is concerned with the processes of composing, speaking, and visually reading words. Whereas his earlier collection, *Silence* (1961), and the "Juilliard Lecture" (1952) in this volume tend to emphasize the organization of sounds in time, the concern of many of the pieces in the present collection is less "musical" and more "poetic" or "painterly": they are primarily designed for the eye. The transcript of a tape recording includes symbolic representation of breathing, swallowing, and the soft grunts and groans I call "vocalized thinking." Twelve different type faces are used in "Diary: How to Improve the World

MICHAEL KIRBY, a sculptor and theater artist, is an assistant professor at Saint Francis College in Brooklyn, New York, and contributing editor of the *Drama Review*. His book *Happenings* was published in 1965.

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Greek Mathematical Thought and The Origin of Algebra
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(You Will Only Make Matters Worse) 1965," and the 1967 installment of the same title adds various shades of lightness and darkness of print. (The organization of lines on the page makes "How to Improve the World" look like a poem. Three such texts are included here, and more are promised; it seems as if it would become Cage's *Patterson.*) Even the most traditional piece in the volume, a letter written with no thought of publication, is given a slightly unusual visual life by being photographically reproduced in the original handwriting rather than being set in type.

Cage's writing does not tell us what to think as much as it makes us think in a particular way. He is as much concerned with the structure of his writing, and therefore the structure of thought, as he is with the particular ideas that are expressed verbally. Thus he becomes one of the very few writers to find an alternative to the traditional introduction-explication-conclusion in which structure depends upon the logical, informational support of each part by the other parts. In creating most of the pieces in this book, Cage began with an objective "plan for writing," in which variables such as the number of sections, the subject of each section, the number of words or lines of writing in the section, the amount of blank space and so forth, were determined by chance. (Most commonly, he used either a method of coin-flipping derived from the *I Ching* or the set of transparent plastic sheets he created in 1960 to produce his *Cartridge Music.*) If it seems as if the result should be arbitrary, formless and pointless, the opposite is true: each part is felt to be in its "proper" place. Everything fits.

I am intentionally not emphasizing the subject matter of the book: the many short stories that Cage scatters throughout as he did in *Silence;* the somewhat new social consciousness which he relates in part to Buckminster Fuller and Marshall McLuhan ("Boddhisattva Doctrine: Enter Nirvana only when all beings, sentient and non-sentient, are ready to do likewise."); the comments on artists such as Marcel Duchamp and Jasper Johns; the variety of

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other subjects upon which Cage touches. These small units out of which the larger mosaics of the articles and lectures are composed are almost always clear, compact, pointed and unemotional. Often they have the same impact and "resonance" as the large work of which they are a part: there is an unusual identity between the individual texts and their parts, between each article or lecture and the whole book. I cannot say that these separate units are unimportant. Their value is only clarified by "Talk I," the only weak spot in the collection, in which subject headings rather than complete thought units are used as material for a visual presentation. But Mumon wrote of the thousands of roads that enter the great path through the gateless gate: Cage has many subjects but only a single unitary "content." "Each something is the celebration of a nothing which supports it," and it is finally the "content" or "message" of *A Year From Monday* that makes it an important book. In these days of tough-minded and tough-postured art, the use of the word "spiritual" is suspect, but it must be said that John Cage demonstrates in an unpretentious, subtle and forceful way the profound spiritual basis of *avant-garde* art, at a time when many people prefer to dismiss the most important works of our day by considering only the surface.

The Rutgers University Press is preparing a definitive English language edition of *The Collected Letters of F. M. Dostoevsky*. The letters from the Moscow edition, plus the scholarly annotations, are now translated and in the process of final editing. The publishers would be grateful to scholars or collectors who would draw their attention to any Dostoevsky letters which might have been thus far overlooked.

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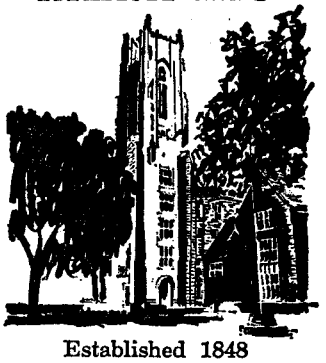

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The Reader Replies

THE READER REPLIES *carries miscellaneous comments by readers and authors on various articles that have appeared in the magazine. All communications should be addressed to: Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009. Because of space limitations we cannot guarantee to print all letters received.*
—EDITOR

Congratulations to Waverley Root for his article on de Gaulle in the Winter issue of the SCHOLAR.

HANNAH ARENDT
New York, New York

* * *

I would like to compliment Charles Samuels on his revealing study of *Blow-Up* in your Winter issue, but I find his zealous criticism of his fellow critics a bit self-righteous. The length and depth of his article show that a great movie, like a fine poem, may require study and explication. The cinema is even more demanding than other artistic media: one cannot flip back a few pages to pick up a missed clue. The busy reviewer and the average film-goer demand, and rightly so, some stirring of their curiosity or engagement of their interest on the first viewing, even if the pieces of the puzzle may elude them until the second or third viewing. I wonder if Mr. Antonioni is as vehement as Mr. Samuels about the extensive controversy and "misinterpretation" that *Blow-Up* has generated.

HILARY JOSEPHS
Cambridge, Massachusetts

* * *

"At dusk a thin crescent rises in a clean sky," writes Walter Teller in THE WAY IT IS (Winter, 1967-68).

No, it doesn't, Mr. Teller. The only moonrise that can occur at dusk is that of a full moon; that's *why* it's full—because it and the sun are at opposite points of the sky.

I have often noticed that nature-lovers are usually very bad naturalists. Why is this? They write about springs "gushing from the mountain tops" (impossible); they encounter fawns and fox cubs at the wrong times of year; their forests and skies are crowded with animals and birds that are incompatible with each other.

It's too bad. That one blooper makes it almost impossible for me to enjoy a really fine and sensitive essay. I go back and look for others. I don't believe that was a short-eared owl, simply because the short-eared owl is the most difficult of the species to identify. I have never been sure of one; am I going to be beaten out by a man who thinks a crescent moon rises at dusk? And black haw? A stagbush if I ever saw one.

DIGBY BUTLER WHITMAN
Wausau, Wisconsin

* * *

MR. TELLER replies: Thanks to Digby Whitman for the lunar correction. If he wants to enjoy my essays, however, he should keep in mind that they cannot be read as though they were articles in an encyclopedia. He should give and take a little. Stagbush is only another name for black haw. In "Specimen Days," Walt Whitman wrote, "You must not know too much, or be too precise or scientific about birds and trees and flowers and watercraft; a certain free margin, and even vagueness—perhaps ignorance, credulity—helps your enjoyment of these things, and of the sentiment of feather'd, wooded, river, or marine Nature generally. . . . My own notes . . . written off-hand. . . Though they describe what I saw—what appear'd to me—I dare say the expert ornithologist, botanist or entomologist will detect more than one slip in them." What is free margin? A control, I think. A caution not to weigh down the spirit.

* * *

We have just read "Like A Rolling Stone," Ralph J. Gleason's outstanding essay in your Autumn 1967 issue. Congratulations on your foresight in publishing the work of one of the most visionary critics and observers of the day —perhaps *the* most visionary.

BARRY OLIVIER, DIRECTOR
Berkeley Folk Music Festival
Berkeley, California

* * *

I found it surprising that Miss Alice Walker, the author of the first prize essay in your Autumn issue ("The Civil Rights Movement: What Good Was It?"), could write on the civil rights movement and show no awareness or understanding of the crucial issues that are being raised both by the radical critique of this movement and by the growing militancy in the urban ghettos.

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Discussing the federal government's "slowness" in acting on problems of poverty and civil rights, Miss Walker correctly points out that this "angers people in the movement." What she shows no awareness of is that many in the movement have gone beyond their anger to analyze the nature of the power structures that oppress them. And, having made this radical analysis, increasing numbers are questioning the ability of the civil rights movement, in its initial form, finally to bring about a solution of the real and still-present problems of the Negro in American society. They are realizing that no real final solution to the problems of poverty and civil rights will be achieved within the existing, traditional political framework—that the "coalition politics" of earlier years are inadequate to the tasks ahead. They have perceived that the gains made in civil rights that have not been either illusory or token were achieved *in spite of* the traditional political system. They have realized that it took the killing of childern in Birmingham to get the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They understand how the welfare system operates to oppress the poor and keep them out of white middle-class society.

Furthermore, this critique of the system that oppresses them has led many blacks to question whether they want any longer to be part of middle-class America. They see its hypocrisy, its paranoia, the unparalleled violence that it perpetrates on the world. They have begun to realize, as did the perceptive civil rights workers, that there may be a more authentic human community in the ghetto than in the suburb. And most of all they are tired: tired of waiting for "liberal" politicians to work out their compromises and coalitions; tired of being lectured about the evils of violence by a government that daily murders unseen peasants in a far-off land.

It is unfortunate that Miss Walker shows no awareness even of the existence of such individuals, much less of the relevancy and significance of their critique of American society, for it is my opinion that we must come to terms with this radical critique and with the real reasons for the militancy in the ghettos if we are to avoid a great American tragedy.

GARY MCCOOL
Denver, Colorado

MISS WALKER replies: It was my knowledge that "the power structures that oppress" have not been more than minutely changed by the movement in *any* of its forms that led me to seek evidence of a fundamental change within myself.

The "critique of the system" which Mr. McCool mentions was not necessary for many of us to decide against wanting to become part of middle-class America. This disaffection with middle-class aspirations antedates even Baldwin. But there is a difference, as I stated in my essay, between wanting two cars and a color TV set for each room and wanting decent food, clothing, housing and adequate medical care.

I don't imagine anyone is more "tired" than the few scraggly and battered civil rights workers who still manage to persevere here and in the North. But what shall we do now that we agree we are all tired? Rest? Meanwhile people are hungry. Mr. McCool speaks of people who have gone "beyond their anger" to "analyze the power structure that oppresses them." That is fine. It must be done. Fortunately many of us have been "beyond our anger" for some years. Some of us, I think, were born beyond it. But analysis is wasted on starving children (unless you are analyzing how much meat and potatoes it would take *immediately* to fill one up); so is anger; so is the "relevancy and significance of the 'radical critique' of America."

It is my opinion that we have been "coming to terms" for years with "the real reasons for the militancy in the ghettos," and it is also my opinion that we have done nothing substantially to influence it. We have antagonized it with our depression and our endless "analysis," but we have not changed it.

America already *is* a tragedy. If in my essay I sought to find some hope and sweetness in all the bitterness, exhaustion and despair, it was not because I am "unaware and fail to understand" the cruel complexity of our present situation; it is simply because, out of my experience and memories of hope, I chose to do so.

Whether the ghetto, unromanticized, is a "more authentic human community" than the suburb, I leave for Mr. McCool to answer. Perhaps he was raised in a ghetto as I was and knows. Personally I have never seen a single "perceptive civil rights worker" who chose to remain in one.

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